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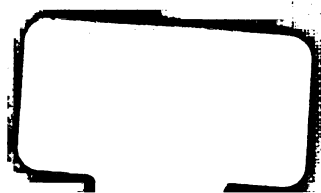
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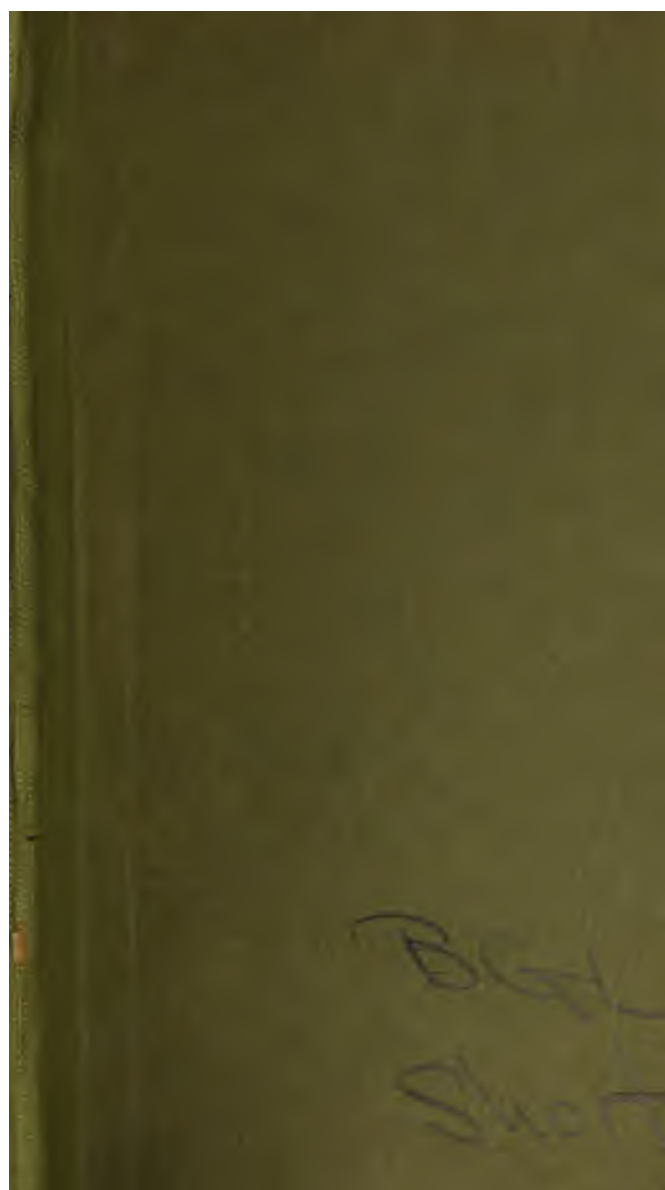
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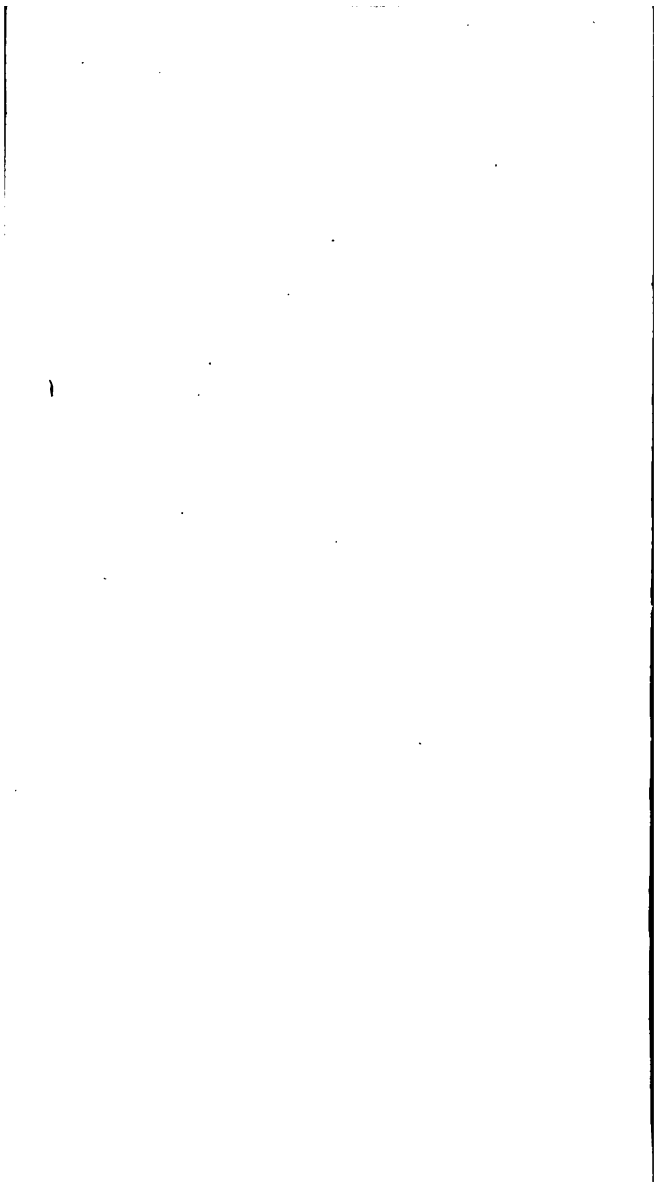


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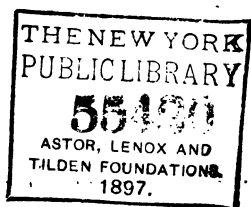
A SHORT
HISTORY
OF
English Transactions
IN THE
EAST-INDIES.



C A M B R I D G E,
Printed for the Author, by FLETCHER and HODSON.
Sold by J. ALMON, Piccadilly; E. and C. DILLY, in
the Poultry, London.

MDCCLXXVI,

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P R E F A C E.

THE treaty of peace, concluded at Paris the 10th of February, 1763, between the kings of Great Britain, France, and Spain, placed the crown of England in the possession of an extent of dominion, unknown to any former period of our history.

THIS increase of Empire has opened a field for transactions under our government, equally new and important; and some events have taken place within the limits of the British empire, since the last war, not
* very

P R E F A C E.

very common in the history of the world.

SOME of those transactions appear to be of a nature that will draw after them consequences greatly to the prejudice of the government and people of England, if not prevented by suitable remedies. And as the knowledge of the disease ever seems necessary to the cure, the design of this work is to give a short state of the evidence, by which these transactions have disclosed themselves to our view. At present they lie hid in volumes of so great a size, that one may reasonably conclude,
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it is but a small part of the public who have examined them in such a manner, as to draw just and satisfactory conclusions from them.

I HAVE long wished to see such a state of these transactions, as would answer this purpose; and it is in consequence of nothing of this kind appearing from any other hand, that I have ventured to attempt it. And after the reader has seen the facts, with the authorities on which they are related, he will use the liberty which he has a right to use, both in the credit he chooses to allow to the evidence itself,

P R E F A C E.

and then in drawing his own conclusions: my design being only to give a short state of some transactions, which have taken place under our government since the late war, and to endeavour to place them in, what appears to me, their true light. And if what I have done should only prove an introduction to such an investigation, as may make them rightly understood, and lead to the remedies that may prevent the consequences which I have thought would flow from them, then I shall consider my labour well bestowed. But if the evidence I have
taken

P R E F A C E.

taken to be true, is ill founded, or any thing I have said unjust, then I would wish it all to go for nothing. But I have here presented nothing to the reader, but what I believe to be true ; and the evidence of the transactions I have related, is the best I could meet with ; and I am not conscious of representing any thing with a view to injure any man ; and if I should offend I can at least say it was not my design. I have related these transactions, wherever I could, in the very words of those who had the greatest share in their execution. And if any gentleman

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man sees I have mistaken his meaning, or been misinformed of facts, I wish to correct both, as the cause I would serve, however weakly, has no occasion to avail itself of any misrepresentation; and it will be a service done to the cause of truth (should the public call for any future impression) by any gentleman who will take the trouble of pointing out a mistake. And notwithstanding the trouble I have had to pick this little work out of the heap of materials about me, I shall think myself happy indeed, should it be the occasion of a thought, to induce those

P R E F A C E.

those who command, to increase their knowledge in what they ought to prescribe ; and those who obey, to find a new pleasure resulting from their obedience.

THE transactions in the East-Indies, making a material part in the period of our enquiry, it may be satisfactory to the reader, to run over a brief state of the principal occurrences in that part of the world, from the beginning of the late war.

Cambridge,
July, 1776.

INTRO-

his favour and protection to the English. It was kindly received by the nabob, who promised to shew the English greater marks of friendship than ever his grandfather had done.

BUT presently after, when advices were received at Madrafs, of the likelihood of a war between England and France, and the governor putting the fortifications of Calcutta in a state of defence, Shujah Dowla signified his displeasure, and absolutely threatened to attack the English, if the governor delayed or refused to destroy the works he had erected.

THE president and council thought it more eligible to promise obedience to the nabob's orders, than risque the issue of a quarrel with him. But they continued exerting their utmost endeavours to strengthen their fortifications,

tions, and applied to the French to assist them, in case the nabob should attack them. The French only gaffoonaded. Then they sent to the Dutch, but they declined giving the English any assistance.

On the 18th of June 1756, the nabob's army surrounded the town. The 19th they pushed on their attack. The 20th they renewed their cannonading with greater vigour, and Mr. Holwell, who had taken the command on Governor Drake's retiring from the factory, seeing all resistance in vain, gave up his sword to an officer of the nabob's, and the whole garrison threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion. The factory was in a few minutes filled with the enemy, who began plundering every

thing they could lay their hands on. In the afternoon the subah entered the fort, carried in a kind of litter; his younger brother attended him in another. Shujah Dowla enquired for Mr. Drake, with whom he appeared much incensed.—Mr. Holwell was carried to him with his hands bound, but upon complaining of that usage, the nabob gave orders for loosing his hands, and assured him upon the faith of a soldier, that no hurt should be done to the English. In the evening the nabob left the fort, the charge of it was given to Monickchund, as governor, and in the dusk of the evening, the musselmen sung a thanksgiving to Allah, for their success. The English were directed to withdraw to a place, where the soldiers were usually confined in

in the stocks, and while they were wondering what this should mean, and laughing at the oddity of it, a party of the nabob's guards came, and ordered them into the place called the black hole, a dungeon about eighteen feet long, and fourteen wide, with only two holes, barricaded with iron bars; into this place an hundred and fifty persons were thrust at eight in the evening, and the next morning only twenty-two of them remained alive.

It was not believed the nabob had any intention of a massacre, but merely to confine them for the night, without knowing whether the prison was great or small. He received the account of what happened, without expressing the least concern; but appeared greatly surprized to find there was not
 above

above five thousand pounds in the company's treasury.*

IN October 1756, Colonel Clive was sent from Madraſs with about 2,000 land forces on board Admiral Watſon's ſquadron to retake Calcutta, which was abandoned by the nabob's gariſon after exchanging a few ſhot with the ſhips.

GREAT part of the forces that went from Madraſs on this expedition were not arrived, but the Admiral landed thoſe he had on board, which conſiſted of 250 of the King's troops, 450 of the company's, and 1,200 ſepöys, who entrenched themſelves under the command

* From the account given to the committee of the Houſe of Commons by John Cooke, Eſq; who in the year 1756 was ſecretary to the governor and council at Calcutta. Reports, vol. i. page 6.

mand of Colonel Clive, within four miles of Calcutta. In a few days Shujah Dowla with his army appeared, and passed within half a mile of the English, and encamped at the back of Calcutta. On his march he sent letters to the colonel, intimating his wishes of peace with the English.

THE colonel sent two gentlemen to the nabob's camp at seven in the evening, who returned at eleven, and assured him they thought the nabob was not sincere in his proposals, but meant treachery. The colonel went on board Admiral Watson's ship that night, who assisted him with four hundred seamen; they landed at one o'clock in the morning, and about four the colonel marched his army against the nabob's camp. His intentions were to have seized his can-

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non and attacked the head quarters; but when day light appeared, there arose so thick a fog, they could not see three yards before them; they killed many of the enemy, and lost about 150 of their own men. In the evening, Shujah Dowla's army retired about ten miles from the English, and the nabob sent a letter to Admiral Watson desiring to treat with him on the terms of a peace; and advice being then received of the war with France, they concluded a treaty without delay. Presently after this the nabob began to assist the French with money and men. The English attacked and took Chandernagore, against the consent of the nabob. And the colonel said, they must either establish themselves by force, or be driven out of the country, and he suggested the necessity of a revolution.

volution. The committee left the management of it to him and Mr. Watts, the company's agent at Muxadavad; and a great dissatisfaction arising at this time among Serajah* Dowla's troops, it was thought a favourable opportunity for deposing him, and Meer Jaffier was pitched upon to be raised to the subahship. Mr. Watts employed Omichund, a black merchant, to negotiate the matter with Meer Jaffier. Omichund insisted, when he was let into the secret, upon having five per cent. on all Serajah Dowla's treasures, and twenty lacks of rupees, or he would betray the whole design to the reigning nabob. But when Meer Jaffier and the English gentlemen understood each other, they thought

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Omi-

* Read Serajah for Shujah in the preceding pages.

Omichund's demand too high, for the nabob's treasures were estimated at forty millions; so two treaties were signed on the part of the English, and sent to Mr. Watts, who delivered one to Omichund, wherein his own terms were expressed, but the other, intended to be observed, did not so much as mention his name. By this treaty it was agreed, when the revolution was accomplished in Meer Jaffier's favour, he should give to the India company one million two hundred thousand pounds; to the European sufferers, six hundred thousand pounds; the same sum to the navy and army; about two hundred and fifty thousand pounds to the natives of the country; and an hundred thousand pounds to the Armenians.

EVERY thing being agreed, Colonel
Clive

Clive marched to attack the nabob, whose army was entirely defeated: He was taken prisoner, and his death followed soon after.*

SERAJAH DOWLA was a young prince of great ambition, tinctured with avarice, and of violent passions, and he adopted the fatal policy of making war against the English, instead of following the example of his grandfather, Alli Ver di Cawn, who always appeared sensible of the advantages arising to his government, by the trade carried on with the English settlements in his dominions. And Kiffindafs, who had been his prime minister to the end

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* From the account given by Lord Clive to the committee appointed by the House of Commons to enquire into the state of the British affairs in the East Indies. Reports, vol. i. page 16.

of his life, had left the court of the young nabob, who listened to the misrepresentations of his courtiers against the subjects of England; and before they began to repair the works at Calcutta, the building of a summer house in a garden, was magnified by the new ministry into a fortification raised to oppose him. But it is not agreed whether the nabob undertook this war, against the colonies of our countrymen, out of resentment at any real or supposed affront to his government, or with a view to force from them a greater revenue. The latter was most likely the real cause, from the disappointment he discovered at the smallness of the sum he found in the company's treasury at Calcutta; and it is probable his courtiers put their master upon these measures to gratify their avarice.

avarice. But happy would it have been for this prince, had he allowed the English to continue under their former regulations ; and listened to the supplications they presented to him for that purpose. For whatever were the motives for the war, the different effects under his grandfather's reign proved it to be impolitic : it answered no end that could be beneficial to the prince's family and government, and the event of it was fatal to himself. His ministers might represent to him, and with every appearance of truth, that a few English tradesmen, defended only by new made soldiers, were too contemptible for him to fear any consequences from his sending his arms against them. And all their strength at first, defended by the walls of Calcutta, could not resist his forces for a day.

day. The English were driven before him, and, by a word of his mouth, shut up like sheep in a fold. But the resentment he discovered against them, gave them nothing to hope from his friendship, and led them to make the desperate attempt of establishing themselves by force; and, unhappily for the prince, they prevailed, and he lost his dominions and his life.

WHAT an opinion must the people of the East have of the courage of Englishmen, when they saw such an handful of them attempt and execute a revolution, in the government of so great a prince? What will not men do when unrestrained by conscience, or fear of danger? But was the glory of such enterprizes, estimated from those hours of mens lives, wherein their actions appear in their true light, perhaps

Avarice

Avarice and Ambition themselves, would not envy their success.

OFTEN has it appeared in the history of mankind, when public justice did not inflict the punishment due to those, who bid defiance to the laws of allegiance or humanity, that conscience has been permitted to do it. And crimes are sometimes explained, by their punishment; the guards who had executed Serajah Dowla's careless orders against the English at Calcutta, are made the very instruments of deposing that prince, and of his death, which happened soon after.

THE battle of Plassey was on the 26th of June 1757. Jaffier Ally Khan with the forces under his command, observed a strict neutrality during the engagement; and by thus betraying his master, as had been before concerted,

ed, the king and company's troops obtained a complete victory over Serajah Dowla; and on the 30th of June, Colonel Clive seated Jaffier in the Miffnud, where he continued till 1760, when the following causes are assigned for deposing him.

THAT he was of a temper extremely tyrannical and avaricious, at the same time very indolent, and the people about him were slaves and flatterers. He attributed all the ill success of his affairs to imaginary plots and contrivances against him, and he sacrificed lives without mercy, to the excess of his jealousy: and the frequent executions that were made without the least assigned reason, made him the dread, or the detestation of all good men, and he became a prey to his servants, who knowing such a government

vernment could not stand long, fought only to make themselves rich by oppressing his subjects. And the unusual scarcity and dearness of provisions in the capital of the nabob's country at that time, is ascribed to the heavy taxes laid upon them.

THESE are the chief reasons assigned for deposing Meer Jaffier, and advancing his son-in-law Cossim Ally Khan to the government: and of this revolution, the gentlemen who made it give the following account: *

“ WE resolved, says the governor, to give the nabob the next day, (the 19th October, 1760) to reflect upon the letters I had delivered him, proposing some measures for regulating these abuses. I heard nothing from him all that day, but found by my
c intelligence,

* Memorial, Reports, 124.

intelligence, that he had been in council with his old advisers, whose advice I was sure would be contrary to the welfare of the country and of the company. I therefore determined to act immediately on the nabob's fears. — There could not be a better opportunity than that the night of the 19th offered, it being the conclusion of the Gentoo feast, when all the principal people of that cast would be pretty well fatigued with their ceremonies ; accordingly I agreed with Colonel Caillaud, that he should cross the river with the detachment, between three and four in the morning ; and having joined Cossim Ally Khan, and his people, march to the nabob's palace, and surround it just at day-break. Being extremely desirous to prevent any disturbance or bloodshed, I wrote

a letter to the nabob, telling him I had been waiting all the day in expectation that he would have settled the urgent affairs upon which I conferred with him yesterday, but his having favoured me with no answer, it plainly appeared, all I could represent to him for the good of his country, would have no effect, as long as his evil counsellors were about his person, who would in the end deprive him of his government, and ruin the company's affairs. For this reason I had sent Colonel Caillaud with forces to wait upon him, and to expel those bad counsellors, and place his affairs in a proper state, and I would shortly follow. This letter I gave to the colonel, to send to the nabob at such a time as he should think most expedient. Measures were taken at the

same time for seizing his three unworthy ministers, and to place Cossim Ally Khan in the full management of all the affairs, in quality of deputy and successor to the nabob.

THE necessary preparations being made, with all the care and secrecy possible, the colonel embarked with the troops, joined Cossim Ally Khan without the least alarm, and marched into the court yard of the palace just at the proper instant. — The gates of the inner court being shut, the colonel formed his men without, and sent the letter to the nabob, who was at first in a great rage, and long threatened he would make what resistance he could, and take his fate. — The colonel forbore all hostilities, and several messages passed between him and the nabob — The affair remained
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In this doubtful state for two hours, when the nabob, finding his persisting was to no purpose, sent a message to Cossim Ally Khan, informing him, he was ready to send the seals, and all the ensigns of dignity, and order the nabit to be stuck up in his name, provided he would agree to take the whole charge of the government upon him, to discharge all arrears due to the troops, to pay the usual revenues to the King; to save his life and honour, and give him an allowance sufficient for his maintenance. All these conditions being agreed to, Cossim Ally Khan was proclaimed, and the old nabob came out to the colonel, declaring that he depended on him for his life. The troops then took possession of all the gates, and the old nabob came out of his palace, and asked if
his

his person was safe, which seemed now to be all his concern. It was told him, that not only his person was safe, but his government too, if he pleased; of which it was never intended to deprive him. He answered, he had now no more business in the city, that he should be in continual danger from Cossim Ally Khan, and if he was permitted to go and live in Calcutta, he should be contented.

Cossim Ally Khan was now placed on the Musnud, and acknowledged as subah, and the people in general seemed much pleased with this revolution.

THE old nabob did not think himself safe even for one night in the city. Cossim Ally Cawn supplied him with boats, and permitted him to take away about sixty of his family, with a reasonable

sonable quantity of jewels. He begged he might sleep in his boat that night, which he accordingly did, and on the morning of the 22d of October, he set out for Calcutta, and arrived there the 29th. He was met by a deputation from the council, and treated with every mark of respect due to his former dignity.

THIS account of the revolution is given in a memorial,* drawn up at a consultation at Fort William, the 10th of November 1760, at which were present Henry Vansittart, Esquire, president; William Ellis, William B. Sumner, William M'Gwire, Harry Verelst, and Harry Smyth, Esquires. And the following account of the same transaction, is given in a letter † to the
Com-

* Reports, vol. i. p. 124. † Reports, p. 146.

Company in England, dated Fort William, March 11, 1762; signed Eyre Coote, P. Amyatt, John Carnac, W. Ellis, S. Batson, H. Verelst.

IN September 1760, when there was not the least appearance of a rupture or disgust between us and the nabob Jaffier Ally Cawn, but friendship and harmony subsisting, Meer Cossim Khan his son-in-law came down to Calcutta, and having stayed a short time, returned to Moorshebad. A few days after Mr. Vansittart went up to that city on the pretence of a visit to the nabob Meer Jaffier. Colonel Caillaud with 200 Europeans and some sepoy attended him, who, it was pretended, were going to join the army at Patna. When Mr. Vansittart arrived at Mooradbaug, the nabob paid him two visits,

sits, at the last of which, Mr. Vansittart gave him three letters, proposing the reformation of the abuses in his government, insisted on his naming some person among his relations to take charge of the subahship, and particularly recommended Cossim Ally Khan, who was sent for, and the nabob desired to stay till he came. But the nabob, being greatly fatigued, was suffered to depart to his palace. The night and following day passed in concerting measures with Cossim Ally Khan, how to put in execution the plan before agreed on in Calcutta, where a treaty was signed for this purpose. In consequence of these deliberations, our troops crossed the river the next night, and being joined by Cossim and his party, surrounded the nabob's palace. A letter from Mr. Vansittart was
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sent in to the nabob, demanding his compliance with what had been proposed to him. To which the nabob returned for answer, " That such usage was what he never expected from the English; that while a force was at his gates, he would enter into no terms." A message was then sent in, that if he did not directly comply, they should be obliged to storm the palace. Astonished and terrified by this menace, he opened the gates, exclaiming, " That he was betrayed; that the English were guilty of perjury, and breach of faith; that he perceived their designs against his government; that he had friends enough to hazard at least one battle in his defence; but although no oaths were sacred enough to bind the English, yet as he had sworn to be their faithful friend, he
would

would never swerve from his engagement, and rather suffer death than draw his sword against them." So suspicious was he of being sold, that, "He desired to know what sum of money Cossim Ally Khan was to give for the subahship, and he would give half as much more to be continued. He hoped, however, if they intended to dethrone him, they would not leave him to the mercy of his son-in-law, from whom he feared the worst, but wished they would carry him from the city, and give him a place of safety in Calcutta."

THIS last request of the nabob's was construed in the light of a voluntary resignation. Our troops took possession of the palace, Meer Cossim was raised to the musnud, and the old nabob hurried into a boat, with a few of his

domesticks and necessaries, and sent away to Calcutta in a manner wholly unworthy of the high rank he so lately held, as was also the scanty subsistence allowed him for his maintenance at Calcutta by his son-in-law." Thus, continues the account, was Jaffier Ally Khan deposed, in breach of a treaty founded on the most solemn oaths, and in violation of the national faith.*

THE gentlemen who give this account of the revolution, say, the company's servants who were the projectors of it, made no secret that there was a present promised them of twenty lacks of rupees from Cossim; who was desirous of making the first act of his power, the assassination of Jaffier, and was very much displeased, when he found the English intended

* Reports, vol. i. p. 146.

tended giving him protection at Calcutta. And Cossim being convinced, by this revolution, how little the English regarded the most sacred engagements, he began his reign by encreasing the number of his troops, and disciplining them in the European manner; and esteeming his capital, Morshedabad, the scene of his predecessor's fall, too near the English settlements, he set about erecting a large fort at Rajahmaul, to make the place of his residence farther out of the reach of a people, who might presently find as many pretences for deposing him, as they had done for violating their treaties with his father-in-law. All Cossim's measures shewed his desire to establish himself on a foundation less precarious than the friendship of the English. And lest the English should grow

grow jealous of his growing power, and want to reduce his authority, by subjecting the subahship to its primitive dependency on the mogul, and oblige him to pay the royal revenues ; he therefore set every engine to work to instill notions into the king, of his being in danger from the English, and he so far prevailed, as to prevent the king's receiving any assistance from the English, or receiving any part of the revenues of this subahship. This behaviour of Cossim's incensed the king, who declared he would not suffer him to remain longer in the subahship, than he had power to prevent it, and made a voluntary offer to the English of the dewanny of Bengal. This post is the collection of the revenues of all the provinces subject to the nabob, which are to be accounted for with the court
of

of Delhy. The nabobs of Bengal, taking advantage of the late commotions in the empire of the mogul, assumed this office to themselves, as well as that of the subdarree, which is the command of the troops, and the charge of the jurisdiction in the provinces, the expences of which are paid out of the revenues by the dewan.

BESIDES this offer of the dewanny to the company, which would have brought them about fifteen lacks yearly, the king offered to confirm to them the lands of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, and to establish the influence of the English not only in these provinces, but as far as the city of Delhy itself. In return for which the king required their assistance to settle him on the throne, and to recover such parts of his territories as were
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in the hands of rebels. And Shujah Dowla, one of the most powerful men of the empire, was willing to join his forces with the English to establish the king, who then was in the field near Patna, and unable to prosecute his journey to his capital of Delhy, it being disputed between two parties in the empire, who should give a prince to the throne.

THE question with the company's servants was, whether they were more likely to arrive at the ends they had in view, by opposing the king, Sha Zaddah, eldest son of the last mogul, or by proposing an alliance with him, and supporting his pretensions to the crown. The committee at Calcutta, thought unanimously their interest laid on the side of favouring the king, which was intended accordingly, and

and letters sent Shujah Dowla, proposing his entering into this alliance.

THE measures of the English now occasioned great jealousy to the nabob Cossim Ally Khan. Colonel Coote was sent to the command of the army, with instructions to forward the resolutions which had been agreed on, and soon after he arrived at the army, Sha Zaddah began his march from Patna ; and was conducted by Major Carnac to the Carnassa, the river that separates the province of Bahar from Shujah Dowla's country. The king crossed the river and was met the same day, a few miles off, by Shujah Dowla.

AFTER a series of disputes, between the English and Cossim Ally Khan, all possibility of an accommodation

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was cut off by the inhuman murder of Mr. Amyatt and the gentlemen of his family and his attendants, as they were returning under the faith of a safe conduct to Calcutta. And notwithstanding the directors of the company at home, had acquiesced in the revolution in favour of Cossim, the servants of the company thought themselves justified, by his conduct, to declare war against him. Major Carnac gave it as his opinion to the council, that it was the least atonement they could make for having deposed Meer Jaffier, to endeavour now to restore him to his government. *

WAR was declared accordingly, against Cossim, † and a proclamation
issued

* Appendix No. 67. to the second report.

† July 1763.

issued for the restoration of Meer Jaffer to the subahship.

COLONEL COOTE being departed for Europe, the chief command of the army devolved upon Major Adams, then the oldest major in his Majesty's 84th regiment. The army took the field against Cossim Ally Khan; and consisted of 650 Europeans, of which about 400 were his Majesty's, and nine companies of Sepoys, of 100 men each; besides which, there was a detachment of the company's troops of 100 Europeans and a battalion of Sepoys, to join Major Adams, from Midnapore, where they had been sent under Major Carnac, for the security of the province of Burdwan; which junction was effected with the greatest difficulty, on account of the floods. Major Adams made his way through

every opposition to the capital, Muxadabad, which he took by storm. Meer Jaffier, after concluding a treaty with the governor and council, left Calcutta, * to join the army, attended by Major William Grant as his escort, and in five days they reached the army, then advanced to Agurdeep. Cossim Ally Khan had been moving downwards with the main body of his troops. Major Adams received a letter from Cossim, saying, he would cut off the English gentlemen in his power, if the major and his army advanced any further. Amongst the prisoners with Cossim were Mr. Ellis, and Mr. Hay; the major wrote them to purchase their liberty of the guard set over them at any rate. They returned for answer, that the major ought

* July 11, 1763.

ought not to be attentive to them, for they must submit to their fate; and desired that no consideration of their situation, should prevent the army from proceeding in their operations.

On the 2d of August the two armies met on the plains of Geriah, and came to a general engagement; the enemy broke a part of the English troops, took two pieces of their cannon, and attacked his Majesty's 84th regiment in front and rear; but after an obstinate dispute of four hours, the English gained a complete victory, and Cossim's army abandoned all their cannon, together with an 150 boats laden with provisions and stores. It was reported Cossim had fifty thousand people in arms, and the whole English army did not amount to more than three thousand firelocks.

THE

The English soon after took Patna by storm,* after a spirited defence, and then advanced to the banks of the Carnassa, the boundary of the province; where Cossim with the shattered remains of his army and treasure, were waiting to complete his bridge of boats over the Ganges, in order to pass into Shujah Dowla's country, which he entered on the 4th of December. Thus after a campaign commenced and prosecuted under inconceivable difficulties and hardships, which inevitably attend being in the field, during the violence of the wet season in Bengal; Cossim Ally Khan was driven out of the provinces, and signalized his flight by the barbarous massacre, in cold blood, of every English gentleman, as well civil as military,

* November 6, 1763.

tary, Mr. Fullerton only excepted, and a number of other persons, who were his prisoners, amounting in the whole to near three hundred. Many of these unfortunate persons, were put to death on the river, in sight of cruel Coffim's army; and some being Gentooes, he had exposed after they were killed, to birds and beasts of prey, and not suffered to be burnt, according to the rites of their religion. *

THE king or mogul was now with Shujah Dowla, and the governor and council sent an agent to Shujah to propose an alliance with him, and to promise to assist him against Coffim Ally Khan, or any other enemy who might

* From the account given by General Carnac and Major Grant to the committee of the House of Commons. Reports, vol. i., part 2., page 8, &c.

might invade his dominions ; in return for which they expected he would declare himself openly an enemy of Cossim's, and use his utmost endeavours, to seize and deliver him up with all his effects.

MAJOR ADAMS was made acquainted with these views by dispatches from Calcutta, the 8th of December ; but as he resigned the command of the army the 9th, intending to embark for Europe,* Major Carnac was informed of the designs of the committee, and desired to take the command of the army and watch the motions of Cossim, and guard the frontiers of Meer Jaffer's dominions, against the strong body of forces with which Cossim had retired. And if Cossim should prevail with the king and Shujah Dowla, to join

* Major Adams died soon after.

join his fortune, then Major Carnac was desired to advance the army to the banks of the Carumnassa, and oppose any enemy that might attempt to enter the country, which was now cleared of Meer Jaffier and the company's enemies.

In February, *Captain Jennings, who commanded at the camp at Sarfarem, sent intelligence to Calcutta, that the king and Shujah Dowla had resolved to assist Cossim Ally Khan in recovering the government of Bengal. This account was confirmed by Major Carnac on his arrival at Patna, and when he reached the camp, he heard their troops were in motion towards the frontiers. The president and council wrote to Shujah Dowla, that they could not give credit to this report; considering
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the former connections subsisting between him and the chiefs of the company, they were persuaded he would not act in so unequitable a manner. But if however he should take Cossim Ally Khan into his friendship, they were resolved to keep Bengal free from troubles, and would carry the war into Shujah Dowla's dominions, and desolate and lay waste his country. *

Soon after this Major Carnac received the following letter :

From Shujah ul Dowla, to the Governor and Council at Calcutta.

“ Former kings of Indostan, by exempting the English company from duties, granting them different settlements and factories, and assisting them in all their affairs, bestowed greater kindness and honour upon them, than
either

* Reports, vol. i. part 2. Appendix No. 67.

either upon the country merchants, or any other Europeans ; moreover of late his majesty has graciously conferred on you higher titles and dignities than was proper, and jagheers, and other favours since ; notwithstanding these various favours which have been shewn you, you have interfered in the king's country, possessed yourselves of districts belonging to the government, such as Burdwan and Chittagong, &c. and turned out and established nabobs at pleasure, without the consent of the imperial court. Since you have imprisoned dependents upon the court, and exposed the government of the king of kings to contempt and dishonour ; since you have ruined the trade of the merchants of the country, granted protection to the king's servants, injured the revenues of the im-

perial court, and crushed the inhabitants by your acts of violence; and since you are continually sending fresh people from Calcutta, and invading different parts of the royal dominions, and have even plundered several villages and pergunnas belonging to the province of Illahabad; — to what can these wrong proceedings be attributed, but to an absolute disregard to the court, and a wicked design of seizing the country to yourselves? If you have behaved in this manner in consequence of your king's commands, or the company's directions, be pleased to acquaint me of the particulars thereof, that I may shew a suitable resentment. But if these disturbances have arisen from your own improper desires, desist from such behaviour in future; interfere not in the affairs of the government;

ment; withdraw your people from every part, and send them to their own country; carry on the Company's trade as formerly, and confine yourselves to commercial affairs. In this case the imperial court will more than ever assist you in your business, and confer its favours upon you. Send hither some person of distinction as your vacqueel, to inform me properly of all circumstances, that I may act accordingly. If, (which God forbid!) you are haughty and disobedient, the heads of the disturbers shall be devoured by the sword of justice, and you will feel the weight of His Majesty's displeasure, which is the type of the wrath of God; nor will any submissions or acknowledgments hereafter avail you, as your Company have of old been supported by the royal favours.

yours. I have therefore wrote to you; you will act as you think adviseable; speedily send me your answer."

THIS letter was accompanied with one to Major Carnac, which, Serajah Dowla says, he writes him agreeable to his majesty's care for the good of his people, reminding him of the favours the kings of Indostan had granted the English above all other Europeans, or the merchants of their own dominions; but the English had turned aside from their former paths, and been continually marching their troops into the king's country, and presumed to remove officers of the imperial court, and to turn out and establish nabobs. He asks—"What kind of behaviour is this?" And desires to be informed if the Major has his king's or his company's orders for these proceedings.

But

But if it was through their own inclinations that the English had plundered villages belonging to Illahabad, and still entertained their evil designs, notwithstanding the approach of the royal standards, it was proper they should desist from such proceedings; and in case of their obedience, the king's favours should be conferred upon them, otherwise the guilty and disobedient should be utterly destroyed.*

THE President and committee write Major Carnac: — “ We must confess ourselves uneasy at the necessity which
you

* Translates entered in the Company's records at Calcutta, at a consultation of the president and council, May 10, 1764.

Epictetus says, “ If any one speaks ill of thee, consider whether he has truth on his side; and if so, reform thyself.” We shall see how the gentlemen take the heathen's advice.

you have been under of acting upon the defensive, and wish it may soon be in your power to change this plan; as it is beyond doubt, that all our successes against the powers of this empire, have been owing to acting *offensively*, and always pushing to the attack; and this appears the more necessary at this time, as the ill disposition of our troops is likely to be increased by nothing so much as inaction.

“ If it is possible for you to take with you a stock of provisions for a few days, and by forced marches to bring Serajah Dowla to action, it appears to us to be an adviseable measure.

“ If you think this impracticable, or not adviseable, the next alteration that occurs to us is, to leave a part of the army strongly posted at or near
Patna,

Patna, for the security of the city, and either conduct yourself or send the remainder of the forces across the river, to march from thence into Shujah Dowla's country, pushing directly for Banaras; by which they would not only cut off the supplies which come to Shujah Dowla from that quarter, but probably induce Bulwant Sing to come over to our interests, and join in distressing him on that side. It is at the same time probable, that upon the appearance of such a force, other parties may rise upon his dominions, may be glad to seize such an occasion, to favour some pretensions of their own. In case of Shujah Dowla's return, we can only say in general, that we would have the war carried on in his country."

EARLY on the 3d of May, the united forces of the king, Shujah Dowla, and Cossim Ally Khan, presented themselves in order of battle before the English camp, near Patna. Sumro, one of Cossim's generals, with the choice of the infantry, supported by a large body of cavalry, made an attack upon the English front; but not being able to advance under so heavy a fire as they gave them, Sumro ordered his men to lie under cover, to wait for the success of the assault upon the rear, where the enemy exerted their principal efforts. Major Carnac had the city of Patna, the camp of Meer Jaffier, who was with him, and his own post to take care of during the action. The whole army, particularly the Sepoys, behaved with the greatest bravery, and at sun-set they repulsed
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the enemy completely, but the major's army was so fatigued with the labours of the day, and being up most part of the night before, waiting for the attack, that they were not able to pursue. The loss on the side of the English was considerable, and that of the allies, Major Carnac writes the council, must have been immense, as the fire of his troops was very close, and extremely well distributed.

WHEN this news reached Calcutta, the council agree* to write Major Carnac, that they hope he has availed himself of the good disposition of his troops, and before that time driven the enemy out of the country; and that they entertain no thoughts of treating with Shujah Dowla, having

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no

* At a consultation, May 21, 1764;

no conception of any concessions which it was in his power to make them.— That they have great reason to believe the nabob, Meer Jaffier, may want to hold his government under the king's authority, and give into any overtures for a negociation, from a vain notion of being independent of their support, and therefore desired by no means to allow any correspondence to be carried on between Meer Jaffier and the king;* but in this, and all other measures, the nabob must be entirely ruled by the major, whilst the war continues.

For some days after the battle on the 3d of May, the English army expected to be attacked again by Shujah Dowla's; but on the 30th, the whole body of the allies marched off, and great part of them reached the mouth
of

* His lawful sovereign,

of the Soane that evening; and Major Carnac writes the governor and council, the 1st of June, that he had selected a detachment under the command of Major Champion, to cross over directly to the Gauzepoor country, with orders to do all the mischief there they can till the rains are set in.

THE president and council write the Major, to prosecute the war against Shujah Dowla, and to put his army in motion immediately, cross the Soane, and pursue the enemy as far as the Ganges, and, if possible, to come to action—to endeavour to take possession of the Gauzepoor country, and collect its revenues, to assist in paying the expence of the war; and to give all manner of protection to the inhabitants, in order to gain their affections.

THE 14th of June the council receive

ceive an account from Major Carnac, of the mutinous disposition of many of his troops, with his opinion, that Meer Jaffier might wish to be independent of the company ; as it was very natural he should be desirous of holding the government of the provinces by virtue of the royal Firmaun ; the religion, as well as the education of all musselmen teaching them to regard this as the only regular constituted authority.

MAJOR CARNAC receives letters from the king and Shujah Dowla, with assurances that Cossim Ally Khan should be arrested and punished ; to which the major returned for answer, that nothing could procure them a reconciliation with the English but the actual delivery of Cossim, Sumro, and the deserters.

THE

THE detachment under Major Champion, produced the effect expected from it — as soon as Shujah Dowla received advice of its having begun hostilities in the districts of Gauzepoor, he retired with his army towards his own country. Major Carnac desired leave to resign his command. The council sent their permission, and at the same time requested Meer Jaffier, to leave the army at Patna, and come down to Calcutta, as they wanted to settle many points with him, of essential consequence to his government and their own. *

* From the report of the committee of the house of commons, appointed to enquire into the state of India affairs, in 1772 and 3, vol. i. part 2.

TRANSACTIONS

IN THE

EAST-INDIES.

CHAP. I.

1. *Stipulations between France and England, relative to the East Indies.*
2. *The King's troops enter into the Company's service at the end of the war in India.*
3. *Mutinous state of the army — punishment inflicted for desertion.*

1. **B**Y the XIth article of the treaty of Paris, it was agreed that Great Britain should restore to France, in the condition they then were in, the different factories which

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that

that crown possessed, as well on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, as on that of Malabar, as also in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And the king of France renounced all pretension to the acquisitions which he had made on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá since that time, and was to restore all that he had conquered from Great Britain in the East Indies, during the last war; and engaged not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops in any part of the dominions of the subah of Bengal. And in order to preserve future peace, the English and French were to acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for lawful nabob of the Carnatic, and Salabat Jing for lawful subah of the Decan; and both parties were to renounce all demands and pretensions of satisfaction,

tion, with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for the depredations, or pillage, committed on the one side or on the other, during the war.

2. AGREEABLE to which, orders were sent out to India, and Colonel Munro says, in his evidence before the house of commons — “ In April, 1764, I was under orders from his Majesty’s secretaries of state and war, to return to Europe with such of his Majesty’s troops as did not choose to enlist into the company’s service. I was accordingly to have embarked with the troops the beginning of May, on board a Mocoa ship, which was to sail for Europe ; but before I embarked, there were two expresses arrived from Bengal, acquainting the governor and council at Bombay, that

Shujah Dowlah and Cossim Ally Khan had marched into the province of Bengal, at the head of sixty thousand men : That Major Adams, who commanded the army, was dead : That the settlement of Calcutta was in the utmost consternation, and the company's affairs in the greatest danger ; they therefore requested that the governor and council of Bombay would apply to me to go round immediately to take the command of the army, with his Majesty's troops, and as many as could be spared from the presidency of Bombay.—As his Majesty's intention in sending out troops to India, by the orders I had, was to assist and defend the company in their different settlements, I thought it would not be answering the intention of sending them out, to return
and

and leave the company's affairs in that situation. I therefore complied with the request, and arrived at Calcutta with his Majesty's troops, and a detachment of the company's from Bombay, in May 1764. Mr. Vansittart, who was then governor, acquainted me, that the army under the command of Major Carnac, since Shujah Dowla and his army had come into the province, had been upon the defensive. Mr. Vansittart requested, that I would immediately repair with the troops I had carried round from Bombay, to join the army which were in cantonment at Patna, and take the command of them."

3. " I FOUND the army, Europeans as well as Sepoys, mutinous, deserting to the enemy, threatening to carry off their officers to the enemy, demanding
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an augmentation of pay, demanding large sums of money, which they said had been promised by the nabob, and disobedient to all order : Four hundred of the Europeans had gone off in a body, and joined the enemy sometime before I joined the army. This being the situation the army was in, I fully determined to endeavour to conquer that mutinous disposition in them, before I would attempt to conquer the enemy. I accordingly went with a detachment of the king and company's Europeans from Patna, with four field pieces of artillery, to Chippera, one of the cantonments. I think the very day or the day after I arrived, a whole battalion of Sepoys went off to join the enemy. I immediately detached an hundred Europeans and a battalion of Sepoys, to bring them

them back to me ; the detachment came up with them in the night time, found them asleep, took them prisoners, and carried them back to Chippera, where I was ready to receive them. I immediately ordered the officers to pick me out fifty of the men of the worst characters, and who they thought might have enticed the battalion to desert to the enemy ; they did pick me out fifty ; I desired them to pick me four and twenty men out of the fifty of the worst characters.—I immediately ordered a field court-marshal to be held by their own black officers, and after representing to the officers the heinous crime the battalion had been guilty of, desired they would immediately bring me their sentence ; they found them guilty of mutiny and desertion, sentenced them to suffer death,

death, and left the manner to me ; I ordered, immediately, four of the twenty-four to be tied to the guns, and the artillery officers to prepare to blow them away. There was a remarkable circumstance : four grenadiers represented, as they always had the post of honour, they thought they were intitled to be first blown away; the four battalion men were untied from the guns, and the four grenadiers tied, and blown away; upon which, the European officers of the battalions of Sepoys, who were then in the field, came and told me, that the Sepoys would not suffer any more of the men to be blown away. I ordered the artillery officers to load the four field-pieces with grape shot, and draw up the Europeans with their guns in the intervals; desired the of-
 ficers

ficers to return at the heads of their
 battalions ; ordered them immediately
 to ground their arms, and if one of
 them attempted to move, I would
 give orders to fire upon them, and treat
 them the same as if they were Shujah
 Dowla's army. They did ground
 their arms, and did not attempt to
 take them up again, upon which I
 ordered sixteen more of the twenty-four
 men to be tied to the guns by force,
 and blown away the same as the first,
 which was done : I immediately
 ordered the other four to be carried to
 a cantonment, where there had been
 a desertion of the Sepoys sometime be-
 fore, with positive orders to the com-
 manding officer at that cantonment,
 to blow them away in the same man-
 ner at the guns, which was accordingly
 C done,

done, and which put an end to the mutiny and desertion." *

* See report from the select committee appointed by the house of commons to enquire into the state of the British affairs in the East Indies. Part 1. page 40.

C H A P.

INDIA AFFAIRS.

CHAP. II.

1. *The battle of Buxar, between the King and Company's troops, and Shujah Dowla's army.* 2. *Number killed.* 3. *The Mogul desires the protection of the English.* 4. *Overtures of peace from Shujah Dowla.* 5. *English protection engaged to Ramnarrain, withdrawn, murdered, and his treasure seized.*

1. **O**N the 22d of October 1764, Colonel Munro with his army arrived at Buxar, and encamped just within range of the shot of Shujah Dowla's army, and I found, says the Colonel, "The greatest part of his troops intrenched, with the Ganges upon their left, and the fort or village

of Buxar on their rear. I sent out spies to know if I could bring my artillery on the right of their camp, resolving not to attack them on their left, that we might have a better chance to drive them into the Ganges than they should us. The officers who were with me, as well as myself, thought they only meant to shew themselves to strike terror into our troops, never imagining they would quit their lines in order to attack us, and as I never heard of a black army before attacking an European army, I returned to our camp wishing they would come out and attack us, for our army was encamped in order of battle. On the 23d of October, about eight o'clock in the morning, the enemy's right was in motion; I thought they meant to attack us: In a few minutes

minutes we were ready to receive them. The action began at nine, and lasted till twelve ; the enemy then gave way, went off very slowly : I immediately ordered the line to break into columns, and pursue. Two miles from the field of battle, there was a rivulet, where the enemy had a bridge of boats ; they pierced their boats and sunk them before the rear of their army got over ; by which means there was about two thousand of them drowned and sticking in the mud : but that was the best piece of generalship Shujah Dowla shewed that day, because if I could have crossed the rivulet with the army, I would either have taken or drowned his whole army in the Carnassa, and come up with his treasure and jewels, and Cossim Ally Khan's jewels, which

I was

I was informed amounted to between two and three millions."

2. THE English army consisted of little more than four thousand men; not above one thousand were Europeans. The nabob's army were not less than forty thousand. The killed and wounded in the English army were 847; in the nabob's 2000 killed in the field of battle, exclusive of those drowned. The colonel had not surgeons to dress his own wounded, he could not give the wounded of the enemy any assistance; but he went for five days together to give rice and water to such as would take it.

3. THE day after the battle, the mogul, who was a state prisoner in Shujah Dowla's camp, wrote Colonel Munro a letter, giving him joy of the victory, and desiring the colonel to
take

take him under the protection of the English, and said, if he would do this, he would give the English Shujah Dowla's country, or any thing else they pleased to demand. And on the commander's receiving the consent of the governor and council of Calcutta, he took the mogul under protection—he had left Dowla's camp the night before the battle.

4. UPON the English army arriving at Banaras, Shujah Dowla sent his minister with overtures of peace. The colonel would not listen to them unless the nabob would deliver up to him Cossim Ally Khan and Sumro. Cossim had ordered many of the English to be massacred when they were in his power, and Sumro had executed these orders, when no man in the nabob's army would do it but himself.—Sumro

was

was a German, and a general officer under the nabob; he had been before a serjeant in the French service, deserted from them to us, and from us to Cossim Ally Khan. But Shujah Dowla would not agree to give up to the English either Cossim or Sumro; and the colonel said he would not make peace with him, if he would give him all the lacks in his treasury, unless he would deliver up those murderers. Bene Bahadré, the nabob's minister, returned again to the English commander, and said, if he would but make peace with his master Shujah Dowla, he would put the English upon a method of laying hold of both Cossim and Sumro. The colonel would not agree to peace on these terms. Bene Bahadre then desired him to let Captain Stables return with him to the nabob's

nabob's camp. The nabob, he said, wanted to speak with him. Captain Stables understood the country language, and agreed to risque his own life, if he could but be the instrument of bringing Coffim and Sumro to be made public examples of. He went along with the minister to the camp, and the answer he returned with was, that the nabob would not give up Coffim by any manner of means ; but let him escape : But if the colonel would send two or three English gentlemen, who knew Sumro, the nabob would ask him to an entertainment, and in presence of those gentlemen he would order him to be put to death.*

5. THE protection of Shujah stood Coffim in better stead than that of the English did Ramnarrain, three years

D before.

* Reports, vol. i. page 42.

before. Ramnarrain was an able man, but very avaricious, and had the credit of being very wealthy, and this same Cossim wished much to have him in his power. “ He was always, says Sir Eyre Coote, * an object of jealousy of the nabob’s, and even Meer Jaffier wished to have had hold of his treasures ; however, my Lord Clive had secured him from any injustice of that nature, and it was deemed a point of policy to support Ramnarrain ; and the first orders I received after the victory over the Shawzadda, were to maintain the engagements which had been observed in my Lord Clive’s time, with respect to protecting Ramnarrain from any violence or injustice on the part of the nabob.—The plea of his being in arrear was the pretext always

* Reports, vol. i. p. 38.

always made use of for oppressing him, but without foundation; for in the frequent conversations I had with Rammarram on the subject, he always seemed ready to come to a fair and equitable account. The governor and council thought proper afterwards to give me contrary directions respecting that unfortunate man. There stands upon the company's records, a letter from me to the board, shewing the contrariety of their orders, and an absolute refusal, while I was at the head of their forces, of doing so dishonourable an act, as delivering up this man to his enemy."

When Major Carnac had the command of the army, he wrote to the select committee at Calcutta—"That he believed they were all acquainted with the engagements entered into by

D. 2 . . . Colonel

Colonel Clive, on the part of the English, with Ramnarrain—that justice pleaded in his behalf—that it was good policy to support the weight and influence of a person known to be so attached to the English interest.* The committee in their instructions to Colonel Coote, at Fort William, April 21, 1761, say — “ As Ramnarrain has been remarkably steady in his alliance with the company, and received from Colonel Clive particular assurance of protection, with respect to his person, fortune, and government, we recommend to you to secure him against all attempts of oppression or injustice : And further, that the government of Patna may be preserved to him, if it
be

* See Major Carnac's letter, dated at the camp at Bockypoor, April 13, 1761. Reports, vol. i. p. 153. appendix, No. 13.

be his inclination to continue it." And Colonel Coote, in his letter to the president and council at Fort William, July 17, 1761, says—" Though the nabob was pleased to offer me five lacks and a half of rupees to turn out Ramnarrain, yet so determined was I not to deviate in the least from your instructions, that however great this offer might appear, I refused it." * But, says the colonel, in his examination before the committee of the house of commons—" I was ordered by the select committee to withdraw the protection to Ramnarrain, which I did accordingly. — He was soon after murdered, and his treasure seized." †

BUT to return to the army under Colonel Munro, now at Banaras.

C H A P.

* Reports, vol. i. p. 156. † *Ib.* p. 40.

INDIA AFFAIRS.

C H A P. III.

1. *Overtures of Peace from Shujah Dowla declined. Treaty concluded with the Mogul. Colonel Munro quits the army — is succeeded by Major Carnac.*
2. *Progress of affairs from January 1765.*

1. **T**HE nabob, Shujah Dowla, offered Captain Stables a sum of money, to prevail with Colonel Munro, to agree to his terms of peace, without giving up Cossim Ally Khan to be punished for the cruelties he had inflicted upon the English. But as Colonel Munro says, "I never would do this, the next thing to be considered was, the driving Shujah Dowla intirely out of his country, and the manner of settling

fetdling it." — " I wrote to the governor and council at Calcutta, and sent them a letter from the mogul, desiring me to make no peace with Shujah Dowla; that he would cede part of his country to the English company, and keep the rest himself. The governor and council sent me a copy of a treaty to be executed with the king, which took place accordingly. * Before Colonel Munro quitted the command of the army, Bulwand Sing, collector of the revenues of the nabob's country, learning the colonel had rejected an offer of four lacks of rupees to displace him, came to the colonel and begged his acceptance of 80,000 rupees, which is 10,000l. and except that, the colonel solemnly declared

* Reports, vol. i. p. 42.

clared he never received a single rupee, for all the time he was in Bengal, near five years, besides the customary presents, which are of small account : and he refused the offer of more than 300,000l. at different times, for making alterations in the officers of the government. When Colonel Munro left the army * Major Carnac was sent by the governor and council from Calcutta, to take the command of it ; these gentlemen met upon the road, and the colonel told the major, had he continued with the army, he would avoid coming to any general action with Shujah Dowla, as they were then in possession of the greatest part of his country, and his army must of course disperse when his money was out. †

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AT

* January 6, 1765. † Colonel Munro's evidence. Reports, vol. i. p. 43.

At this time the nabob, Meer Jaffer Ally Khan, was taken ill at Moorshabad, and finding his disorder increasing every day, he sent for his second son, (the eldest alive) and growing irrecoverable, he delivered to him a paper of advice, and recommended the Rajah Nundcomer as his minister, and ordered Mr. Middleton and the other English gentlemen to be sent for, with all the servants of his government, and in their presence, desired orders might be given to all the people to obey his son Najim ul Dowla, in every respect as they did him. He expired the 14th of January 1765.

INDIA AFFAIRS.

CHAP. IV.

Observations on Meer Jaffier's Reign.

IF what this prince said when he came out of his palace to surrender himself to the English commander, was the genuine dictates of his mind, it appears Meer Jaffier possessed sentiments which would afford him no small support under his sufferings. — “ I have sworn, said he, to the English, to be their faithful friend — I will never swerve from my engagements. I will rather suffer death than draw my sword against them, though I have friends enough to hazard at least one battle in my defence. — But I see no

oaths are sacred enough to bind the English.” *

MR. WATTS, who negotiated the treaty with Meer Jaffier in 1757, wrote Colonel Clive, † that the admiral, the commander of the company’s land forces, and the committee and council, were to sign the treaty on their part, affirming in the name of God, and of our Saviour, that they would abide by it. The committee at Calcutta write the directors § — “ The 19th of May the treaty being engrossed, in the manner Mr. Watts had requested, it was returned to be presented to Meer Jaffier, who, on the 15th of June,

* The account given of the revolution to the directors, by the committee at Calcutta, in 1762. Reports, vol. i. p. 147.

† His letter of the 14th of May.—*Ib.* p. 104.

§ Letter, July 14, 1757. Appendix No. 5. Reports, vol. i. p. 101.

June, * in the presence of Mr. Watts, solemnly said — “ I swear by God, and the *prophet* of God, to abide by the terms of this treaty, whilst I have life.” †

IN the night of the 19th of October 1760, the English troops entered the court of his palace and forced him to resign his government to Cossim. “ At a time when there was not the least appearance of a rupture or disgust — thus was Meer Jaffier deposed, in breach of a treaty founded on the most solemn oaths, and in violation of the national faith.” §

COSSIM

* Reports, vol. i. p. 102. † *Ib.* p. 106.

§ Letter from Calcutta, 11th of March 1762, to the secret committee of the company in London, signed by *Eyre Coote, P. Amyatt, John Carnac, W. Ellis, S. Batson, H. Verelst.*
— Reports, vol. i. p. 153.

COSSIM ALLY KHAN agreed to give twenty lacks of rupées to the English gentlemen who were to bring about the revolution in his favour, and twenty lacks more for the use of the company. *

WHAT Meer Jaffier gave for his first advancement to the subahship, and his restoration to it, far exceeded the sum stipulated with Cossim. Jaffier obtained the government by an agreement with the English, to betray the reigning nabob, Serajah Dowla, at the battle of Plassey—And by an agreement with the English he was betrayed by his son-in-law, and forced from his palace and government. Jaffier shewed a regard to the treaty he had made with the English, and was restored to his dominions. The English broke

* Reports, vol. i. appendix 65.

broke their engagement, and were severely punished by the loss of those unfortunate gentlemen, who fell victims to the cruelty of Cossim, for whom they violated the public faith.

MEER JAFFIER had buried his eldest son before he was deposed, and he seems to have greatly lamented the loss of his assistance, when involved in the difficulties of his government, from which he was only relieved by the friendly messenger to all good men.

MEER JAFFIER's eldest son left a prince who was only six years old when Meer Jaffier died. The governor and council did not choose to take that line of succession, contrary to the appointment of Jaffier in favour of his second son, though some of the gentlemen thought it would be better to have a
long

long minority ; but the late nabob having associated his son in the government, they feared it might have the appearance of another revolution.

THE crimes of which Meer Jaffier was accused—putting several persons to death without reason or justice—on a strict enquiry, were found not to be true ; the very persons said to have been murdered by him, were all, except two, found to be living when the matter was examined after his restoration ; neither had he broke any of his engagements with the English. On the contrary, amity and friendship is said to have subsisted on his part to the time they deposed him.

INDIA AFFAIRS.

C H A P. V.

1. *The accession of Najim ul Dowla to the subahship after the death of his father Meer Jaffier.*
2. *Conduct of the English gentlemen sent to him from Calcutta.*
3. *Evidence given by an agent, employed to obtain presents.*

1. **T**HE president and council at Calcutta appointed four gentlemen to go up to Muxadavad in the name of the Company to wait on Najim ul Dowla the son of Jaffier. Two treaties were signed by the committee, and when the prince had acceded to them, he was to be proclaimed nabob. Mr. Middleton acquainted Najim of their
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being

being on their way, and he sent the minister recommended to him by his father to meet them, and the gentlemen arrived the next day ; and, says the nabob, in the letter he wrote to the committee at Calcutta, giving an account of what passed on this occasion, —

“ I was confident that these my friends and well-wishers would have done me the compliments of condolance and comfort me, but they did not to me the least thing of this kind ; instead whereof they began to incumber me with many troublesome things, and at the same time sent out all the people that were present, together with my brother ; and then they told me to send for Mahomed Reza Cawn from Decca, and set him up as naib of the Nizamut. This troubled me much ; and they told me also, that till he was set

set

set up as naib, I must not sit in the Dewan Connah ; and that I must live in the same place, and put a stop to all public business.

“ The above Reza Cawn has had long ago evil intentions on the Nizamut; my father, therefore, deemed him always as his enemy ; and besides, there is a large sum of money due from him to the firca. For these reasons I thought proper not to acquiesce to any of the above proposals that were made to me. I told them to peruse the paper of advice of my deceased father, and see how it directs, and which I shall readily follow. In answer to this, they replied, that your paper of advice was of no force or virtue ; and every thing must be done as we think proper.

“ IN this manner they have vexed me, by sitting almost every day from the first of their arrival to their departure.

“ THEY presented me with a paper and desired I would sign it. This paper was that which they brought with them, and insisted on me to comply with their request. I sent for my friends, and one of them acquainted the gentlemen, that whatever paper they wanted to be signed, they would have no difficulty in it, at the same time it was proper for all of them to peruse it first. The gentlemen being much displeased at this, asked in a very angry manner, who they were that wanted to peruse the paper? After this, one of my friends, who was near my presence, told me to bring the former treaty, and
compare

compare that with this, and then sign it. At this one of the gentlemen turned out this my friend, and told me if I did not set up Reza Cawn in his naibship, and immediately sign the paper, I should have no great chance of being in the possession of the subadary, and then I should be extremely sorry for it. When I saw him pressing me so eagerly, and in an unfriendly manner, I thought proper to sign and deliver the paper to them, and they carried it away.

“ After this Reza Cawn arrived and sat as naib, and for the better securing his naibship, he has distributed twenty lacks of rupees out of my treasury, to such persons as he thought proper, and has made one of the gentlemen his protector. This gentleman’s bad treatment of me after my father’s death,

death, and Reza Cawn's station, are to me as if I was day and night in a flame."*

2. *Narrative given by Juggut Seet, of the conduct of the deputies.*

" When the gentlemen of the council went to Moorshebad, and applied themselves to the regulation of the whole subadarry, they sent me the following message by Mootyram. —

" Make us some acknowledgment and we will settle all your business according to your heart's desire, otherwise we shall be displeased and your business meet with no assistance, for you formerly made an acknowledgment to Lord Clive, and other gentlemen." I informed them Lord Clive never said

2

* No. 84. Appendix, Reports, vol. i.

a word on this subject, and that I did not give him even a single daum. They sent me a message in answer as follows : — You may not be acquainted with it, but your fathers made us acknowledgments; give us five lacks of rupees. I answered, Our fathers never did give Lord Clive a single daum. They replied, If you would wish to have your business go freely on, make us some acknowledgment. Being remediless, I consented to give one hundred and twenty five thousand rupees, fifty thousand immediately, and the rest when I could collect in my debts from the country. The gentlemen agreed to this.

“ ENQUIRY having been made, I Juggut Seet have written these particulars, in which there is by no means a word of untruth.” A true translation,

tion, signed George Vanfittart, Persian translator.”*

3. Mootyram, who was employed by the English deputies to treat with the officers to be placed about the nabob, afterwards gave the following evidence to the new committee at Calcutta.

Question. What message did you carry from the gentlemen to Reza Cawn?

Answer. I was ordered to ask for presents.

Q. Did one gentleman send you in his own name, or in that of the deputation?

A. In all their names.

Q. What answer had you from Reza Cawn?

A. He

* No-84, Appendix, Reports, vol. i.

A. He first said, " Very well, I'll try what I can do ;" but afterwards he said, " It was very improper, to ask money of the Seets. It will get me a bad name.

Q. What did you say about stopping their business, unless they complied with the demand ?

A. I did tell him that the gentlemen would protect their business, if they would make a present ; if not, the business of the Seets would meet with no protection or countenance. Juggut Seet said, — " If the gentlemen will be satisfied with rings, jewels, and such presents to the value of twenty five thousand rupees, I will comply. But on his being pressed farther, he agreed to give fifty thousand, which was not accepted. They

at length, in about twenty days, consented to give one hundred and twenty five thousand rupees. The money was sent in a stackeree, at which the gentlemen were very angry, and said, Why was it not given to Mootyram, or sent more privately.

Q. To what amount of the nabob's money came through your hands to the deputies?

A. One of the gentlemen received through my hands, 237,500 rupees, another 50,000, but what was paid to the other gentlemen I know not, their own servants transacted that business for them.*

In February 1765, Najim was proclaimed at his capital Muxadavad, and while the deputies were there, the

* No. 84. Appendix, Reports, vol. i.

the rest of the council received advice :
from England, of Lord Clive's coming out with extraordinary powers from the company.

INDIA AFFAIRS.

CHAP. VI.

1. *Lord Clive's arrival in India. — The objects in view for the Company.*
2. *State of things at Bengal, and the designs proposed to the Committee.*

1. **T**HE 10th of April, Lord Clive arrived at Madras, and wrote the following letter to Thomas Rous, Esq; one of the directors :

Madras, April 17, 1765.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ WE arrived at this place the 10th instant, and shall proceed to Bengal next Saturday. I must now enter with you into the politics of India. The particulars of our late success, and now very flourishing condition of the company's

company's affairs in Indostan, you will have been informed of at large, before this reaches you.

“ We have at last arrived at that critical period, which I have long foreseen ; I mean, that period which renders it necessary for us to determine, whether we can or shall take the whole to ourselves.—Shujah Dowla is beat from his dominion ; we are in possession of it, and it is scarcely hyperbole to say—to-morrow the whole Mogul empire will be in our power. — A large army of Europeans will effectually preserve us sovereigns. — You will, I am sure, imagine with me, that after the length we have run, the princes of Indostan must conclude our views to be boundless : they have seen such instances of our ambition, that they cannot suppose us capable of moderation. The very nabobs

nabobs whom we might support would be either covetous of our possessions, or jealous of our power. Ambition, fear, avarice, would be daily watching to destroy us ; a victory would be but a temporary relief to us, for the dethroning of the first nabob, would be followed by the setting up another. — We must indeed become nabobs ourselves in fact, if not in name, perhaps totally so without disguise. But on this subject I cannot be certain until my arrival at Bengal. — Let us, and without delay, complete our three European regiments to a thousand men each ; these, with five hundred light cavalry, three or four regiments of artillery, and the forces of the country, will certainly render us invincible. — In short, if riches and security are the objects of the company, this is the method,

method, the only method, now for securing them.” *

2. THE 3d of May 1765, Lord Clive arrived in Bengal, and being accompanied to Calcutta, by a deputation, took charge of the government. On the 5th of May his lordship assembled the council at Fort William, when the company's instructions were read, and the gentlemen appointed to form a select committee, to assist Lord Clive in restoring peace to the company's affairs, were admitted at the board, and on the 7th of May the committee met for the dispatch of business. Each member took an oath not to reveal, to any person whatever, any of the proceedings of the committee, before the same was laid before the council, or till the committee

was

* No. 82. Appendix, Reports, vol. i.

was dissolved, and they administered the same oath to their secretary and his assistant.

LORD CLIVE then informed the committee, that he little imagined, when he resigned the government of Bengal, five years ago, that he should ever enter upon it again; but the late distracted state of affairs in India, had alarmed the proprietors of stock, and at one of their most numerous general courts, he was unanimously desired to resume the government of Bengal.

“ THE success of the forces which I had the honour to command in the year 1757, completed a revolution in favour of Meer Jaffer; an event on which the existence of the East India Company at that time depended. The treaty concluded with him was productive of large advantages to the

H nation,

nation, as well as to individuals, and seemed to insure the company greater benefits than they had ever before enjoyed.

“ My successors, soon after my departure, thought proper to raise Cofsim Ally Khan to the subahship, the consequences of which, whatever was the cause, had been unfortunate.”

“ A very few days are elapsed since our arrival; and yet if we consider what has already come to our knowledge, we cannot hesitate a moment upon the necessity of assuming the power that is in us of conducting, as a select committee, the affairs, both civil and military, of this settlement. What do we hear of, what do we see, but anarchy, confusion, and what is worse, an almost general corruption ?

“ It

“ It is absolutely indispenfible for the speedy fettlement of the company’s affairs, that the power fhould be lodged in the hands of a few, or the defigns of the proprietors in folliciting me to accept the government will be baffled and delayed, if not totally eluded, by their fervants.

“ To eftablifh a country government—to fecure the commercial intereft—and to perpetuate the revenues of the company—to form the military, and to amend the civil departments, thefe will be the objects of our ferious attention. By this committee I fhall hope to fee thefe important matters completely regulated, before I refign the government; and you know that my intention is to remain in it no longer than my affiftance may be thought neceffary.

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towards accomplishing these great and salutary purposes." *

To get into the power of the company the whole Mogul empire, was a *great* purpose—to obtain and govern it by an invincible force, † a salutary one.

* No. 84. Appendix, Reports, vol. i.

† Lord Clive's letter to Mr. Rous from Madras.

INDIA AFFAIRS.

C H A P. VII.

1. *The Committee write General Carnac.*
2. *The young nabob arrives at Calcutta.*
3. *General Carnac's advice from the army, with Shujah Dowla's letter and answer.*

THE Committee write the following letter :

To Brigadier General John Carnac, commander in chief of the army.

“ SIR,

“ AGREEABLE to the instructions of the honourable Company, we have this day assumed the powers of a select committee, with which we are invested. And we send you, as a member

ber of this committee, a copy of the company's instructions, and of the oath we have taken, which we desire you to receive from the Company's servant upon the spot, in order that our correspondence may be without reserve. The necessary measures you are to pursue, we submit to your direction."*

Fort William, *May 7, 1776.*

2. AT this time the nabob Najim ul Dowla came to Calcutta, and addressed the committee on the subject of the presents obtained from him and his ministers, on his accession.

THE committee make this minute on that business, the 11th of May.—
 "The facts advanced by the nabob, and other circumstances which have this day appeared to the committee, being maturely weighed and considered,

* No. 84, Appendix, Reports, vol. i.

ed, the committee are of opinion, that Mahomed Reza Cawn, since the death of the late nabob, has distributed among certain persons near twenty lacks of rupees.”*

3. THE committee receive letters from General Carnac of the 30th of April, “ That in consequence of advice that Shujah Dowla, with Caz Dyn Cawn, was on his way to Korah, to join Mulhar, who is there with the Morattoes, he had crossed the Ganges. That Captain Graham had a smart skirmish with a disaffected Zemyn dar, wherein the latter, with a considerable number of men, was killed; and that we had sustained a material loss in one Tarbeg, a leader of our few Persian horse, who died of his wounds.”

THE 2d of May, the General writes, if the enemy did not fall back, the committee

committee might soon expect to hear of a battle. The day following they did engage, and the General routed the enemy. The 5th of May he received intelligence that Shujah Dowla and the Morattoes had separated. And the 19th of May General Carnac received the following letter from Shujah Dowla :

“ It is known all over the world, that the illustrious chiefs of the English nation, are constant and unchangeable in their friendship, which my heart is fully persuaded of. The late disturbances were contrary to my inclinations ; but it was so ordered by providence. I now see things in a proper light, and have a strong desire to come to you ; and I am persuaded you will treat me in a manner befitting your own honour. You have shewn great
favour

favour to others; when you become acquainted with me, you will see with your own eyes, and be thoroughly sensible of my attachment, from which I will never depart while I have life. I am this day the 26th of the moon, arrived at Belgram. Please God in a very short time I shall have the happiness of meeting with you. As for other particulars I refer you to Mouyr-o-Dowla."

With his own hand.

" MY FRIEND,

" I REGARD not wealth, nor government of countries; your favour and friendship is all I desire. Please God I will be with you very soon, when you will do for me what you think best."

GENERAL CARNAC'S answer.

" THE receipt of your letter gave me great pleasure. You was before

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unacquainted with our customs and dispositions; thanks be to God that you are now become sensible of the justice and upright intentions of the English.—Now that you are pleased to come to me in a friendly manner, you may depend on the best reception in my power, suitable to our customs, and I will not be deficient in forwarding whatever is reasonable for your interest; and when your excellency shall shew a real attachment to the English, their friendship towards you in return, will be made manifest to the whole world. — You may with perfect confidence come here as to your own house, and to those that wish your welfare; further particulars you will have from Mouyr-o-Dowla.”

THE 24th of May the General writes the committee :

“ If

“ If we can make a friend of Shujah Dowla, which I really believe we may, provided we use with moderation our success, and do not urge him to despair, I am firmly of opinion that he, from the extreme regard in which he is held throughout the country, even in his present distress, will prove a much better security to our frontier than any one we can put in these dominions, in his room.”*

From the camp at Jajaman on
the banks of the Ganges,
May 27, 1765.

* No. 84, Appendix to vol. i. Reports of the committee of the House of Commons.

INDIA AFFAIRS.

CHAP. VIII.

1. *Instructions from the Committee to General Carnac on the terms of Peace with Shujab.* 2. *The interview with him.* 3. *And with the Mogul.*

1. **T**HE 10th of June the committee write to General Carnac :

“ S I R,

Y O U R letters of the 26th and 27th of May afford us great pleasure; the intelligence is important, and the sentiments you express generous, and such as we are determined to adopt. We join with you in opinion that every appearance of insult and violence to a person

person of Shujah Dowla's character, ought to be carefully avoided, in the terms we demand. Among men of honour and sentiment, a peace can only be permanent where the advantages are reciprocal."

" LORD CLIVE, who sets out for the army in four or five days, will be empowered, in conjunction with you, to settle every thing in whatever manner shall appear most conducive to the great object we have in view.

" IN sketching out the preliminaries with Shujah Dowla, the king's honour must be consulted, and his safety and subsistence secured wherever he chooses to reside. Cossim Ally and Sumro, we would be glad to have delivered into our hands, if Shujah Dowla will do it voluntarily — or else put to death by himself; but if neither can be effected
without

without disgusting him, and thereby endangering the stability of the peace, it must be left to his own honour."

" IN money affairs we must appear generous and disinterested ; and if you stipulate for any sums to be paid, they ought to be on account of the company, who have some claim to an indemnification, and whose interest ought to be our principal object.

Fort William,
the 10th of June, 1765.

" P. S. We would further recommend, that you stipulate with Shujah Dowla for the establishment of factories, and an entire liberty of trade in every part of his dominions ; but we mean not to support this privilege by any military force, nor to introduce troops or garrisons into his country."

2. General

2. GENERAL CARNAC, to the Right
Hon. Lord Clive, and the gentlemen of the Select Committee :

“ MY LORD, and Gentlemen,

HEARING that Shujah Dowla was drawing near, I sent Captain Swinton with Rajah Sittabroy to meet him. He arrived in the evening on the opposite side of the river, and immediately crossed it with his brother-in-law, Salar Jung, and a very few followers, in order to wait upon me. I received him with all possible marks of distinction, at which he expressed much satisfaction. He appears, however, a good deal dejected at his present condition, which must bear very hard upon him; and he must find himself without resource; or being, as
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he undoubtedly is, the most considerable man in the empire, and of an uncommonly high spirit, he would not have submitted to such a condescension. It will, in my opinion, greatly add to the English name, throughout the country, our behaving with generosity towards a person who has all along born a high reputation in Indostan."

3. THE General writes the committee the 19th of June:—

" I JUDGED it most adviseable to make the best of my way to the King, who chose to halt at Manipur, and there wait for me.—I arrived here yesterday, and immediately waited upon his Majesty, who expressed much satisfaction at Shujah Dowla's being come in. I am to present Shujah

K

Dowla

Dowla to him to-morrow, and I wait with the greatest impatience to know how far you are willing to favour Shujah Dowla."

CHAP.

INDIA AFFAIRS.

CHAP. IX.

1. *Treaties concluded with the Mogul and Shujah Dowla.* 2. *Their advantages.*

THE 3d of August 1765, Lord Clive and General Carnac write the select committee, that the day before they had a conference with Shujah Dowla, when he offered to pay fifty lacks to the company for indemnification for the charges incurred by the war.

As to the surrender of Cossim Ally Khan, Sumro and the deserters, it was out of his power.—Cossim had sought shelter in the Rohillah country, and Sumro had placed himself under the

the protection of the Jauts, where he was screened both from Shujah Dowla and us.

THE 11th of August, Lord Clive and the General paid a visit to the King on business. His Majesty delivered his demands to Lord Clive in the Persian language. The King was then requested to grant to the company, the dewannee of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá: his Majesty signed the fiat, and gave them that revenue for ever. The 16th of August, the treaty between Shujah Dowla and the company was concluded, to which the King also set his seal.

THE 19th, an instrument was executed to the King, in the name of the nabob Najim ul Dowla, for a yearly tribute of twenty six lacks of rupees, to be paid into the royal treasury, for
his

his holding the subahship of Bengal. The company became guarantees for their nabob, and agreed with him for an annual sum, for the expences of his household, that he might have no occasion to interfere in collecting the revenues of the provinces to be governed in his name.*

THE King then signed a Firmaun, for the payment of Lord Clive's jagheer for ten years, with reversion to the company. General Carnac having declined accepting any present from the King, his Majesty wrote a letter to the committee, desiring the General might be permitted to receive two lacks as a testimony of his favour.

LORD CLIVE and General Carnac returned to Calcutta, and the 7th of September the committee express their

* No. 90, Appendix, vol. i.

their high approbation of the measures they had pursued to stop the effusion of human blood, and for obtaining so extraordinary an acquisition of revenue and influence to the company.*

2. THE 30th of September Lord Clive writes the Court of Directors this account of their success:

“ YOUR revenues, by means of this new acquisition, will, as near as I can judge, not fall far short for the ensuing year of 250 lacks. Hereafter they will at least amount to 20 or 30 lacks more. The nabob's allowances are reduced to 42 lacks, and the tribute to the King is fixed at 26, and your civil and military expences in time of peace, can never exceed 60 lacks, so that there will be remaining a clear gain

* No. 98. Appendix, vol. i.

gain to the company of 122 lacks or *One Million Six Hundred and Fifty Thousand Nine Hundred Pounds Sterling* a year."

"WHAT I have given you is a real, not an imaginary state of your revenues, and you may be sure they will not fall short of my computation."

"THE assistance which the Great Mogul had received from your arms and treasury, made him readily bestow this grant upon the company, and it is done in the most effectual manner you can desire."

THE allowance for the support of the nabob's dignity and power, and the tribute to his Majesty, must be regularly paid; the remainder belongs to the company."

"REVOLUTIONS are now no longer to be apprehended; the means of effecting

fecting them, will in future be wanting to ambitious mufselmen; nor will your fervants, civil or military, be tempted to foment difturbances, from whence can arife no benefit to themfelves.—Reftitution, donation money, &c. &c. will be perfectly abolifhed, as the revenues from whence they ufed to iffue, will be poffeffed by ourfelves.”

“ THE power of fupervifing the provinces, though lodged in us, fhould not, however, in my opinion, be exerted. If we leave the management to the old officers of the government, the company need not be at the expence of one additional fervant; and though we may fuffer in the collection, yet we fhall always be able to detect and punifh any great offenders, and fhall have the fatisfaction in knowing that the corruption is not among ourfelves.

selves.—By this means also the abuses inevitably springing from the exercise of territorial authority, will be effectually obviated; there will still be a nabob, with an allowance suitable to his dignity, and the territorial jurisdiction will still be in the chiefs of the country, acting under him and the presidency in conjunction, though the revenues will belong to the company.”

“ OUR restoring to Shujah Dowla, the whole of his dominions, proceeds more from the policy of not extending the company’s territorial possessions, than the generous principle of attaching him for ever to our interest by gratitude, though this has been the apparent, and is by many thought to be the real motive. Had we ambitiously attempted to retain the conquered country, experience would soon have

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proved the impracticability of such a plan. The establishment of your army must have been added to your list, and more chiefships appointed. Acts of oppression and innumerable abuses would have been committed, and at such a distance from the presidency could neither have been prevented nor remedied, and must infallibly have laid the foundation of another war. Our old privileges and possessions would have been endangered by every supply we might have been tempted to afford in support of the new ; and the natives must have finally triumphed in our inability to sustain the weight of our own ambition.

“ Considering the excesses we have of late years manifested in our conduct, the princes of Indostan will not readily imagine us capable of moderation,
nor

nor can we expect they will ever be attached to us by any other motive than fear. No opportunity will ever be neglected, that seems to favour an attempt to extirpate us, though the consequences, while we keep our army complete, must in the end be more fatal to themselves. Even our young nabob, if left to himself, and a few of his artful flatterers, would pursue the paths of his predecessors. It is therefore impossible to trust him with power and be safe. If you mean to maintain your present possessions and advantages, the command of the army, and the receipt of the revenue, must be kept in your own hands.

“ If you allow the nabob to have forces, he will soon raise money; if you allow him a full treasury without forces, he will certainly make use of

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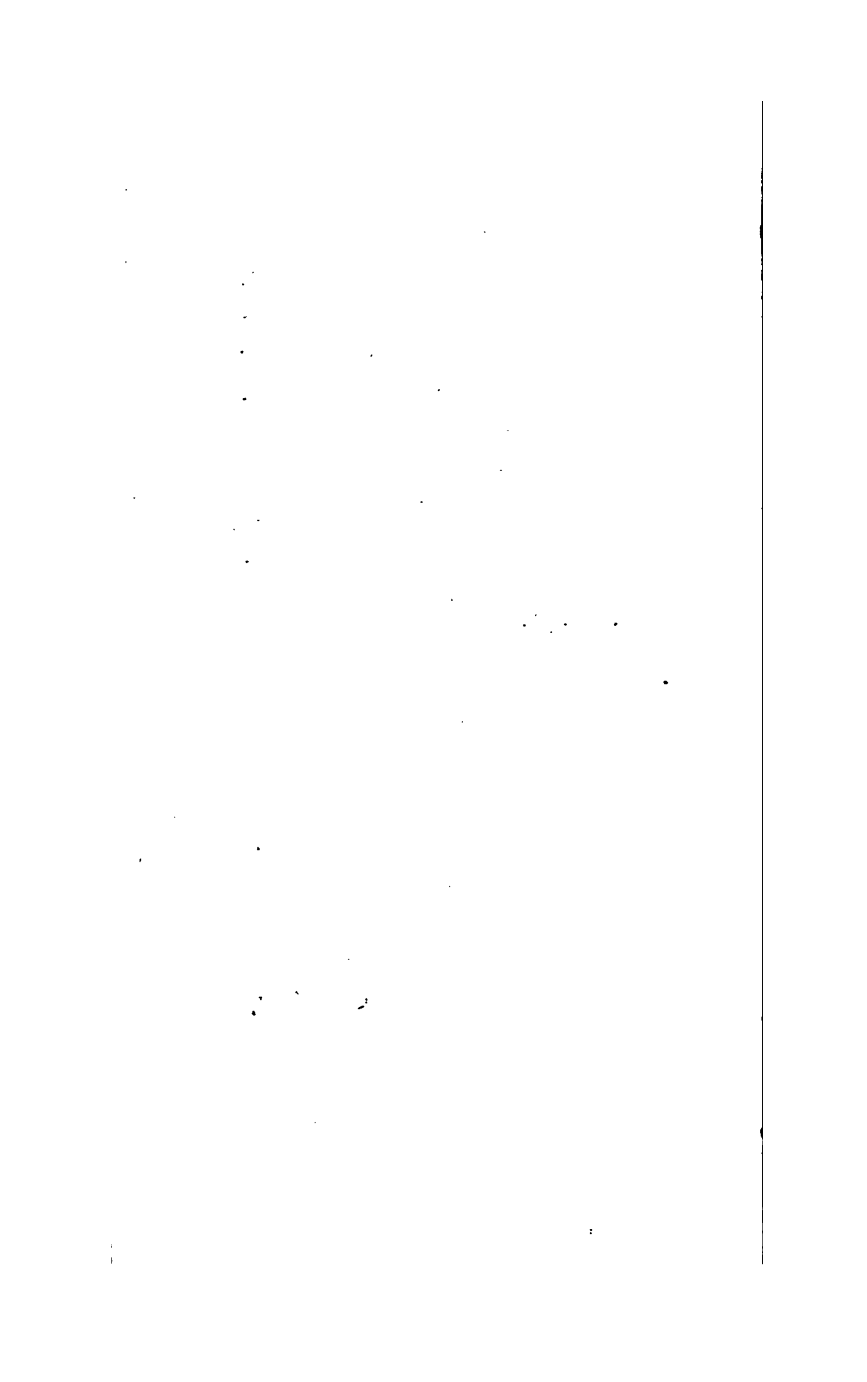
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it to invite the Morattoes or other powers, to invade the country, upon a supposition that we shall not suspect the part he takes, and that success will restore him to the full extent of his sovereignty."

" THE regulation of the nabob's ministry, the acquisition of the dewannee, and the honourable terms on which we have conducted a peace with the Vizier of the empire, have placed the dignity and advantages of the English East India Company on a basis more firm than our most sanguine wishes could a few months ago have suggested. These however alone will not ensure your stability; these are but the out-works which guard you from your natural enemies, — the natives of the country: all is not safe; danger still subsists from more formidable enemies

mies within; — luxury, corruption, avarice, rapacity; these must be extirpated or they will destroy us, for we cannot expect the same causes which have ruined the greatest kingdoms, shall have different effects on such a state as ours.”*

* Lord Clive’s letter to the Court of Directors 30th September, 1765. Reports, vol. i. Appendix, No. 73.



INDIA AFFAIRS.

C H A P. X.

*Inland Trade established for the benefit of
the Civil and Military Servants, and
Duties for the Company.*

TO prevent the inconvenience which might arise to the company, from their servants having now no means of growing rich, but by a deduction from the revenue of their masters, the select committee agreed on the establishment of a society for carrying on an inland trade in salt, beetle nut, and tobacco; and the profits of it to be divided amongst the servants of the company, civil and military, from the governor and members of the council, down to the junior

nior merchants and factors; and from the general to the surgeons in the army.* The committee then laid duties upon those articles which the society were to have the exclusive privilege of supplying the inhabitants with. And from a calculation, the select committee say — “ We hope the duties may produce a clear revenue to the company, of at least 100,000*l.* sterling per annum; and should it appear upon further experience of the trade, that the profits will admit of an increase in those rates of duties, we are hereby resolved, that a fair and impartial representation of the same shall be made to our honourable masters in order to receive their directions, as it is our fixed determination to render them all possible satisfaction on this point.”

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* Reports, vol. i. No. 36.

LORD CLIVE in his letter of the 30th of September says — “ I at first intended to propose, that the company and their servants should be jointly and equally engaged in the trade itself, but upon better consideration, I judged that plan to be unbecoming the dignity of the company, and concluded it would be better that they should give the trade entirely to their servants, and fix a duty upon it for themselves, equivalent to half the profits.”

THE resolution passed in the committee is thus expressed — “ Bestowing all due attention to the circumstance of the company’s being at the same time the head and masters of our service, and now become in the place of the country government, it is agreed, that the inland trade in salt, beetle nut, and tobacco, shall be subject to a duty

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after

after the following rates : — Thirty-five per cent. on salt, ten per cent. on beetle nut, and twenty-five per cent. on tobacco.”

THE resolution then proceeds to distribute the proportion of gain by this trade among those who laid the duty upon it, and the inferior servants of the company. Of which Lord Clive thus expresses himself in the eighteenth paragraph of his letter to the direction of the 30th of September :

“ THE advantages proposed for the governor and council, would undoubtedly appear extremely large, to those who are unacquainted with the riches of Bengal, and the numberless opportunities which the company's servants have of acquiring money. But you, who are now perfectly informed of the revenues of these kingdoms, and the
prodigious

prodigious emoluments within the reach of gentlemen high in the service, will, I am persuaded, agree with me, that if some plan of the nature proposed, be not adopted, the governor and council will not fail to acquire much larger fortunes, by other means, in a much shorter time."

"To obviate an objection which may arise, that they may possibly proceed in the old way of procuring money, notwithstanding they accept of these allowances, I would have an oath tendered to them, of as strong and solemn a nature as can be penned. And to this may be annexed a penalty bond, of 150,000*l.* to be executed by the governor, and 50,000*l.* to be executed by each of the council." *

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* Lord Clive's letter to the directors, entered Appendix, No. 73. to Reports, vol. i.

THE company's servants had before been engaged in the inland trade of salt, beetle nut, and tobacco.— And the manner in which they carried it on, had last year produced a complaint from the nabob, in these words — “ The poor of this country always used to deal in salt, beetle nut, and tobacco, but they are now deprived of their daily bread, by the trade of the Europeans.”

ON this complaint, the directors express an high degree of displeasure to their servants, at a practice called *Bur-jaut*, or forcing the people of the country to buy goods beyond the market price, and say* — “ If any of our servants shall persist in carrying on a trade,

* Letters between the directors and the president and council. Reports, vol. i. Appendix, No. 50.

trade, which had produced so many bad consequences, we would have them dismissed our service. We shall say nothing further on this trade, till that important subject shall have been taken up by Lord Clive and the gentlemen of the select committee, only that paying the nabob two and a half per cent. and charging the country people twenty, or perhaps forty per cent. does not obviate our former objections arising from the distress of the poor, and the injury done to the country government, as this charge is as much a monopoly as ever."

LORD CLIVE and the select committee, in their proceedings on this business, enact this resolution—"That the inland trade in salt, beetle nut, and tobacco, may meet with no interruption, and for the better regulating the same,
the

the committee of trade may, from time to time, form by-laws, which after being approved by the body of proprietors, the committee shall be empowered to enforce and carry into execution." *

THE 5th of November the select committee write to the members of the committee of trade:—

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ Y O U have represented to us, that the society for conducting the inland trade, will derive very particular advantages from entrusting the management of their concerns to European agents; and we have for this reason consented, under certain limitations, to a measure we could never otherwise approve—giving permission

* Fort William proceedings, 18th of Sept. 1765. No. 36. Appendix to Reports, vol. i.

mission to Europeans, not in the company's service, to reside in different and remote parts of the country, opens so large a field for abuse and oppression, and is in itself so opposite to the express injunctions of the court of directors, so contrary to the orders we have so lately issued, and so alarming to the natives in general, that such indulgence can only be justified by necessity."

" To obviate, therefore, in the best manner possible, the inconveniences to be apprehended, we think it our indispensable duty, to lay such restraints on the conduct of the gentlemen who shall be employed in this service, as appears to us best calculated to prevent future cause of complaint, and secure the peace and repose of the country."

" To

“ To this end we require that all European agents, on whatever service employed by the society, do subscribe the following restrictions, and bind themselves in a penal bond of 30,000 rupees to the strict observance of them.

1st. THAT they carry on no trade or commerce, either as agents or principals, except for the benefit of the whole society of inland trade.

2d. THAT they lend no money to any public officers, or other persons any way connected with government.

3d. THAT they assume to themselves no judicial power or authority whatever.

4th. THAT they neither interfere, directly nor indirectly, with any business relative to the government, or by any means whatever give interruption

to the collections, but confine themselves strictly to the sale of salt, tobacco, and beetle nut committed to their charge, making such returns of the produce as the society may require."

" THESE, gentlemen, are the principal restrictions which we think necessary, to avoid contradiction to our own resolutions, and to secure the company from injury, the ministers from occasion of complaint, and the natives from insult and oppression." *

AFTER this the gentlemen appointed to conduct the trade of the society make this representation to the select committee :—

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* Proceedings of the select committee. Fort William, November 5, 1765. No. 42. Appendix to Reports, vol. i.

“ MY LORD, and Gentlemen,

“ WE think it will be for the advantage of the society, that such salt as is now on hand, belonging to private traders, should be sold by your agents, till the salt belonging to the society gets up ; we request you will grant us permission to insert a clause, allowing them to dispose of such salt.” *

To this application the select committee give the following answer, the next day :—

“ WE consent that the balances of salt belonging to private merchants, which are now on hand, shall be disposed of by your agents, at the several stations to which they are appointed, since you are of opinion this measure will conduce to the benefit of the society ;

* No. 43. Appendix to Reports, vol. i.

ciety ; but we must desire they will not think of extending this privilege beyond the particular article here specified." *

Fort William,
January 9, 1766.

THE 31st of this month the select committee write the court of directors : —

“ WE have in one instance deviated from your orders for recalling the free merchants. The plan for conducting the joint inland trade, in salt, beetle nut, and tobacco, is so extensive, and is a scheme that appears so well calculated for your interest and the public benefit, that instead of their employing black gomastahs and agents, we have permitted them to appoint European
N 2 agents,

* Reports, vol. i. No. 45. Appendix.

agents, for disposing of the society's concerns at certain established marts, in different parts of the country."

" AND further to assist this valuable branch of commerce, and promote the credit of the infant society, the governor and council have, at the request of the committee, signed and executed a deed, for the better securing to the society, the free and exclusive purchase and sale of the articles of salt, &c. from the first of September 1765, to the 30th of August 1766." *

THE agents appointed by the society for delivering out their articles of trade to the inhabitants of the country, being ready to proceed to their stations the beginning of January, the select committee then turn their attention to the

* Tenth paragraph of the committee's letter to directors. Appendix, No. 46.

the interests of the company as land-owners, of which they give the directors the following advice :—

“ OUR proceedings point out to you the increase of your rents issuing from the Calcutta lands, and the prospect we have of rating them still higher, without exaction or oppression. It evidently appears to us that great frauds were formerly committed in these collections ; with a view of correcting which, we have determined that the leases granted to the present farmers, shall expire on the 1st of September next ; by that time we hope to ascertain their value exactly, at least we shall then silence the clamour of the inhabitants, against what they deem a monopoly, by universally diffusing and extending the benefit arising from the possession of lands, among the most substan-

substantial and respectable banyans and black merchants, living under your protection.” *

AND of the same date the governor and select committee of Bengal, give this general account of their whole proceeding :—

“ To us it evidently appears, there remained but the alternative, to advance as we have done, and grasp at the whole power, or shrink back into our primitive condition of simple merchants ; to abandon our possessions, disband our forces, and rest our future hopes on the clemency of princes, who will not easily forget or forgive the superiority we have so long maintained. In a word, this last measure was in itself impracticable ; for we must observe,

* Committee's letter from Fort William, January 31, 1766. Appendix, No. 46.

serve, although with much regret, that the misconduct of individuals hath rendered the English name so odious, that we are no longer secure than while our hands are armed for the defence of our lives and properties." *

THE servants of the English East India Company in Bengal, have now shewn themselves united together in the characters of traders, foldiers, and legislators; they only remain to be seen under their regal dignity.

THE gentlemen who went from Calcutta to take possession of the dewannee in the name of the company, give the following account of that solemnity,

* Annexed to the Report of the committee of the house of commons, appointed to enquire into the state of India affairs, the 11th of May 1772.

solemnity, in a letter to the select committee, dated the 30th of April, 1766:—

“ WE thought it by no means advisable to deviate, upon slight occasions, from the established forms and customs of the anniversary of the Poonah, and therefore accepted, for ourselves and for you, the usual presents of a dress and elephant to each ; which shall be forwarded by the first opportunity. — This expence hath formerly been charged to the government, it must therefore now be brought to the company's account ; but as the amount is very inconsiderable, it is scarce worth while to introduce any innovation to lessen our dignity in the eyes of the people.” *

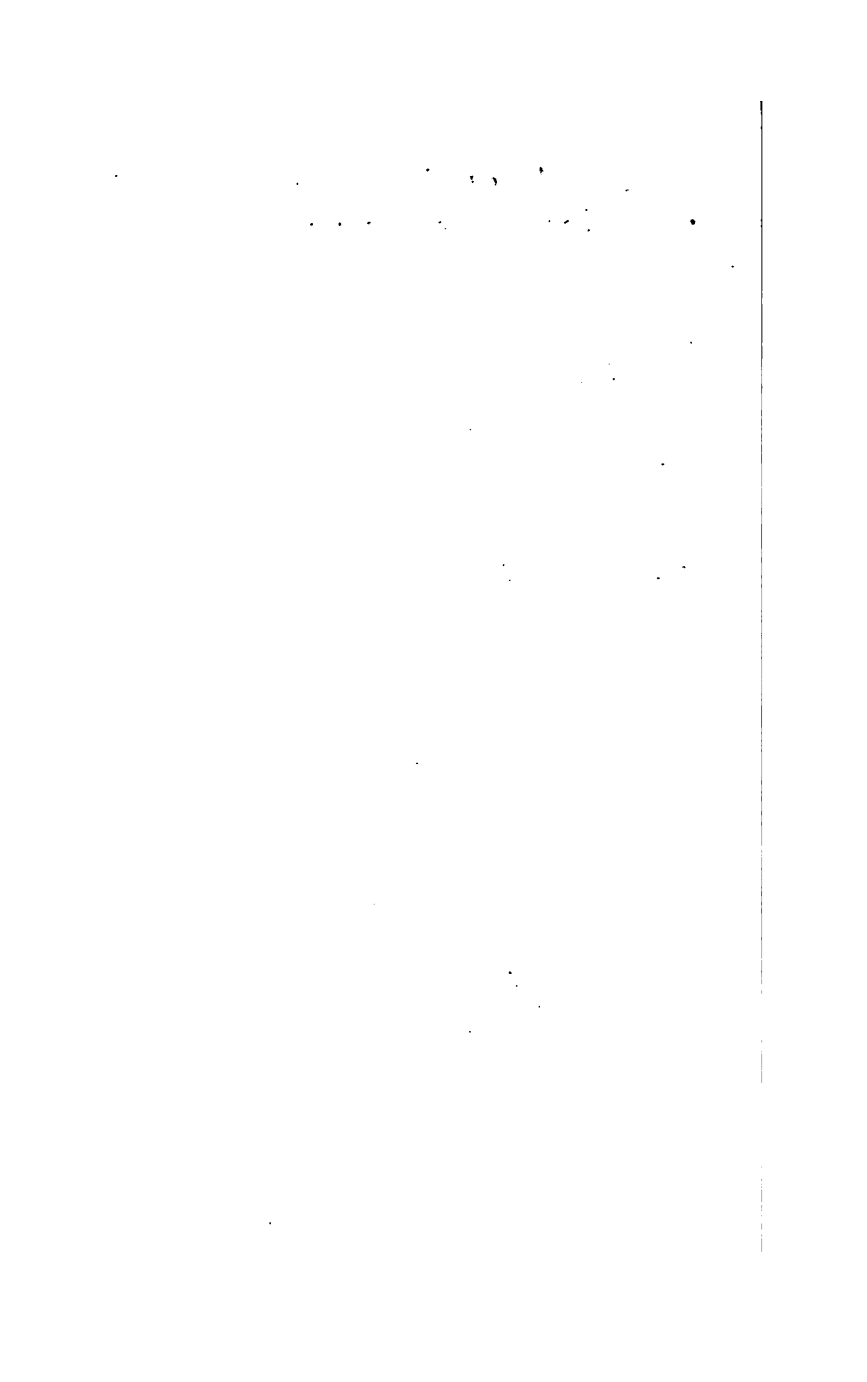
AFTER

* Reports, vol. ii. p. 18.

AFTER which the seal of their government bore an inscription, of which the following is a translation :—

“ THE magnificent merchants of the East India Company, the Dewans of the magnificent provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, servants of the bold King Shah Allum.” *

* Reports, vol. i. p. 162.



INDIA AFFAIRS.

CHAP. XI.

The Court of Directors reply to the President and Select Committee at Fort William in Bengal, May 17, 1766.

“ **O**N the 19th. of last month we received the several packets in which was your letter of the 30th of September, one from Lord Clive, and a general letter dated the same day.”

“ As some of the most important affairs have fallen under your management, which have ever occurred since the company had a being, it is with the utmost satisfaction we observe with what zeal and true regard to the interest of your employers you have

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pursued.

pursued such measures, not only with respect to the political system of the country, but the arduous task of discovering, and laying open to our view, the infidelity, rapaciousness, and misbehaviour of our servants in general; of all which, you may be fully assured, we have the highest and most grateful sense."

"As stability to your plans for a peaceable possession of our acquisitions, and a thorough reformation in our servants in general, are objects of the greatest importance, and in which the presence of Lord Clive is essentially necessary; we made it our unanimous and earnest request, that his Lordship would continue another season in Bengal, and which we here again repeat, in confidence and hope of his Lordship's ready acquiescence to complete
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what he has laid so good a foundation: for, as you will observe by the accompanying triplicate of a letter we addressed to his Lordship, dated the 2d instant, which, as the occasion was so important, we sent over land, for fear the Mercury, by which you will receive this, should not reach Bengal before the departure of his Lordship."

"ALTHOUGH we think you have made a most unexpected progress in investigating the many new and important affairs that have come before you, yet we consider what you have done as necessarily imperfect, till you have had some experience of the effect of your regulations. You must not therefore look on the following observations and directions as carrying any disapprobation of your conduct in general, but as reflections that occur to us on the first

first view of affairs so totally new to us. We trust entirely to the continuance of your zealous endeavours to bring this great work to perfection."

"FROM the sentiments we expressed in every one of our letters, you will easily judge the great pleasure it gave us, to see the war with Shujah Dowla ended so conformable to our wishes. We always esteemed the power of that subah the strongest barrier we could have against the invasions of the northern powers, and without this we must have had wars to maintain at an immense distance, or had them brought down to our own frontiers, or even into our own provinces. We are equally pleased to see the care that has been taken of all those who shewed their attachment to us in the course of the war. Bulwantsing's joining us at the
time

time he did, was of signal service, and the stipulation in his favour was what he was justly intitled to."

" EQUALLY politic and prudent are the concessions in favour of the king, whose interest was but considered by restoring Shujah Dowla to his country; the only subah in Indostan who is ever likely to support him in his pretensions to the empire. The revenue agreed to be paid him, must be, in the eyes of the Indian powers, a mark of our respect to the royal blood, and an acknowledgment of his right.

" When we consider that the barrier of the country government was entirely broke down, and every Englishman throughout the country armed with an authority that owned no superior, and exercised his power to the oppression of the helpless native, who

who knew not whom to obey; at such a crisis, we cannot hesitate to approve your obtaining the dewannee for the company."

"WHEN we look back to the system that Lord Clive and the gentlemen of the Select Committee found established, it presented to us a subah disarmed, with a revenue of almost two millions sterling, (for so much seems to have been left exclusive of our demands upon him) at the mercy of our servants, who had adopted an unheard-of ruinous principle, of an interest distinct from the company. This principle shewed itself in laying their hands on every thing they did not deem the company's property."

"It has been the principle too on which our servants have falsely endeavoured to gloss over the crime of their proceedings,

proceedings, on the accession of the present subah, and we fear would have been soon extended to the grasping the greatest share in that part of the nabob's revenues which was not allotted to the company. In short, this principle was directly undermining the whole fabrick; for whilst the company were sinking under the burthen of the war, our servants were enriching themselves from those very funds which ought to have supported the war. But to Lord Clive and our Select Committee we owe that the company are at last considered as principals in the advantages as well as dangers.

“ WE must now turn our attention to render our acquisitions as permanent as human wisdom can make them.”*

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* No. 74, Appendix to Reports.

THE Court of directors, in their letter of the same date to Lord Clive, express themselves thus on the subject of inland trade.

“ WE think the vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade, have been obtained by a scene of the most tyrannic and oppressive conduct, that ever was known in any age or country; we have been uniform in our sentiments and orders on this subject from the first knowledge we had of it, and your lordship will not therefore wonder, that after the fatal experience we have had of the violent abuses committed in this trade, we could not be brought to approve it, even in the limited and guarded manner with which it comes to us in the plan laid down in the committee's proceedings.”

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AND on this subject the directors write their select committee.

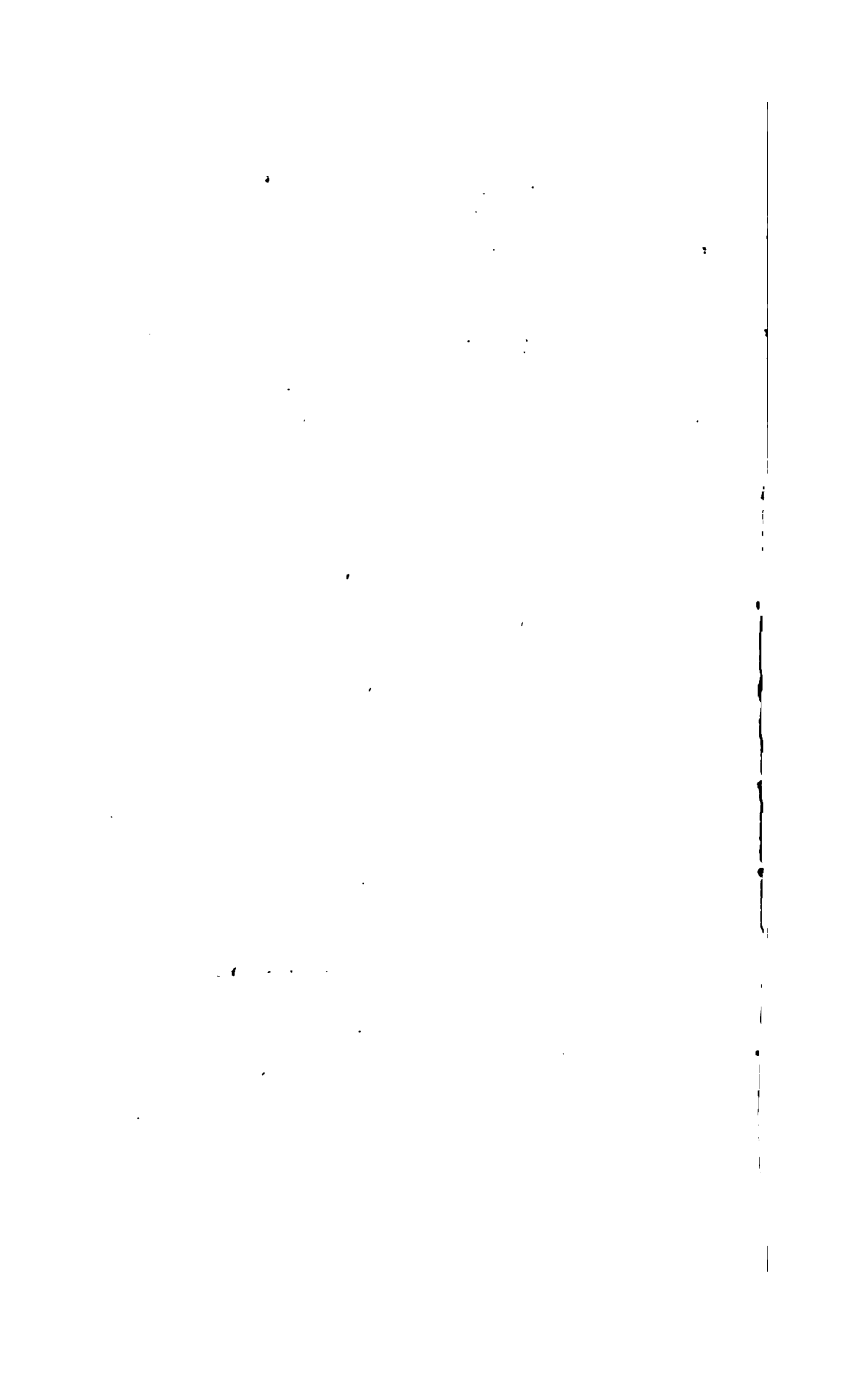
“ WE are fully sensible that these innovations and illegal traffic laid the foundation of all the bloodshed, massacres, and confusion which have happened of late years: we cannot suffer ourselves to indulge a thought towards the continuance of them upon any conditions whatsoever. No regulations can, in our opinions, be formed, that can be effectual to prevent the like consequences which we have seen. We consider it as too disgraceful, and below the dignity of our present situation, to allow of such a monopoly; and were we to allow of it, under any restrictions, we should consider ourselves as assenting and subscribing to all the mischiefs which Bengal has presented

to us for these four years past. At the same time we do not mean that the ancient duties upon these commodities, which constitute part of the revenues of Bengal, should be abolished; but we leave the adjustment of these duties to your judgment and consideration. And here we must enjoin you to have particular regard and attention to the good of the natives, whose interest and welfare are now become our primary care; and we earnestly recommend it to you, that you take the most effectual methods to prevent these great necessities of life from being monopolized by the rich and great among themselves, and by that means the poor and indigent become liable to those grievances and exactions which we mean to prevent
our

our own people from being guilty of." *

* Paragraph 37. of the Court of Directors letter to the Select Committee, the 17th of May, 1776. Appendix, No. 46. Reports, vol. ii.

CHAP.



INDIA AFFAIRS.

C H A P. XII.

*The substance of the Committee's Letter
to the Court of Directors, and their
Answer.*

THE company's servants in India had now received their masters' reply to their important advices of the 30th of September, * which briefly consisted of three particulars.

THE first.—We have defeated Shujah Dowla, who has cast himself upon our generosity; and the Mogul being in the power of this prince, we have got the command of all they are able to grant. But policy induced us to allow Shujah Dowla to remain in possession

cession of his dominions, that he may defend us from more dangerous enemies, who would surround our frontier were we to take his country under our own government. We have therefore contented ourselves with obtaining from the King a grant to the company for ever of the dewannee of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá ; which will yield a clear revenue of 1,650,900*l.* sterling, a year.

To this article, the court of directors reply — “ At such a crisis, we cannot hesitate to approve your obtaining the dewannee for the company.— And, we must now turn our attention to render our acquisitions as permanent as human wisdom can make them.”

THE second article of which the committee informed the directors was—

“ Luxury,

“Luxury, corruption, avarice, and rapacity have got possession of the posts of your principal servants, who for some time past have had the management of your affairs in India.”

To which the court of directors say, —“ This principle was directly undermining the whole fabrick. But to Lord Clive and our select committee we owe, that the company are at last considered as principals in the advantages as well as dangers.”

THE third article of intelligence given by the president and committee, was, —“ The revenues of the country being now become the company’s property, if their servants have not some other way of enriching themselves, they will do it at the expence of their employers. To prevent this, the select committee have established a society of trade, with

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an exclusive right to supply the natives with their salt, beele nut and tobacco, upon which we have laid a duty, calculated to produce 100,000l. a year to the company, and the profits of trade we have agreed to divide among the members of the society, consisting of the company's civil and military servants."

To the duty, the court of directors say—" We do not mean that the ancient duties upon these articles, which constitute part of the revenues of Bengal, should be abolished; we leave the adjustment of those duties to your judgment and consideration." And as to the trade—" We are fully sensible that these innovations, arising from the inland traffic, laid the foundation of all the bloodshed, massacres, and confusion which have appened of late years: we
cannot

cannot suffer ourselves to indulge a thought toward the continuance of them, upon any condition whatsoever. No regulations can, in our opinion, be formed, that can be effectual to prevent the like consequences, which we have seen." And to this objection to the inland trade, the court of directors added instructions to their select committee—" To have particular regard for the good of the natives, and preserve them from severe exactions."

BUT the servants of the company in India saw the court of directors had received the news of their success with the warmest approbation, and had not hesitated to accept of the revenue of the country, and made no direct objection to the continuance of the duty they had laid on salt of 35 per cent. instead of the 21-2 formerly paid under

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the nabob's government. The gentlemen in India had therefore two very powerful motives to divert them from following these advices of moderation towards the natives — The example of their superiors, and custom. It only now remains to be seen the part they chose to act.

CHAP.

INDIA AFFAIRS.

CHAP. XIII.

1. *The state of India when Bengal was brought under the Government of the English.*
2. *Their Power.*
- And,
3. *The Use they made of it.*

THE servants of the India Company had now in their hands the government of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá ; they retained, it is true, the name of a nabob, but the power was solely their own. In earlier ages it would perhaps have been a matter of great astonishment, how a few hundred strangers should possess themselves of so great and populous a country, and have the entire superiority over all the towns and cities in it, some of them containing

containing as many people as the city of London is supposed to do at this day. But the history of later ages takes away all surprize at the smallness of the means by which this revolution, great as it is, has been brought about. The empire in which it happened was divided within itself, and the causes which produced those divisions, had also prepared the inhabitants for becoming a prey to their enemies. Natural plenty and riches had introduced looseness of manners, idleness, and a love of pleasure amongst them. Riches, without integrity or abilities, were the recommendations for filling the first offices of the state. Avarice laboured for riches, and luxury poured them out on splendor and pleasure, which became the distinguishing marks of men of rank and power; a disinterested

interested regard to their country never appeared in the post of honour, and the subjects were no further the objects of care to their governors, than as they administered to their wants : and these being the wants of avarice and luxury, they were not to be governed by the rules of justice and moderation. The head of the empire demanded exorbitant tribute of the provinces ; these, that lay nearest to the court, were most oppressed to furnish the supplies of its luxury—the remoter provinces feared the fate of those that were nearer at hand ; the subahs of these availed themselves of the fears of the people, and flattered them with hopes of a less burdensome government within themselves. The people were excited to purchase new
masters,

masters, at the expence of rebellions, in which they were headed by the viceroys or ambitious men in the provinces, who again divided into fresh wars with one another, for the power of governing their followers.

2. Thus were they situated when the subjects of England were made parties in their wars. — Conduct gained confidence, and they soon became leaders instead of allies. They held out the dominions of princes as a reward to their generals and ministers of state, to betray their masters in council or in the field. Treachery destroyed all union and confidence, and thus broken and divided as they were, they became subject to their common enemy, consisting only of a few hundred of his Majesty's troops and the company's.

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WHEN the mogul was glad to purchase the friendship of the India Company's servants, by granting them the revenues of three great and rich provinces, and when the most powerful prince in the empire, chose rather to throw himself upon their mercy than continue to oppose them at the head of a numerous army, it may easily be conceived with what submission the defenceless inhabitants of the country would submit to the government of the company's servants. And the powers and talents which met together in those servants, were equally adapted to maintain their authority, and to exercise it in the most effectual manner to obtain the general end they had in view — that end was not the lives of the people, but their fortunes. For this they fought; for this they

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negotiated ; and as soon as they had discharged the more honourable services of the field and the cabinet, they immediately turned their attention to that of traffic, and with a certainty of success, which no set of trading men perhaps ever had before. — They were at once sovereigns, legislators, foldiers, and merchants. — As sovereigns they could command absolute obedience — as legislators give themselves exclusive rights — and as foldiers they could use the burjaut, and buy and sell by force. And not having the ceremonials of dignity to give any interruption to business, they united themselves together in a society of trade for their common profit.

3. THEY had now nothing to do but to hit upon such necessities of life as the inhabitants could not want,
and

and they were sure of their money and their jewels. The choice of the articles of trade fell upon salt, beetle nuts, and tobacco. — They were all managable; they could get the greatest part, if not the whole of them, into their hands; and custom having made these things so necessary to the people of the country, they could not exist without them, at least with any degree of health and comfort. Within a few weeks, therefore, after they became masters of the country, their agents were distributed to their posts to deliver out those things to the natives with one hand, and take their money or their goods with the other, and to return all they got into the common stock of the society. Something like this trade had been carried on by many of the company's servants,

before the provinces were got intirely out of the power of their native governors : but then they only acted as stragglers passing through a country, from the main body of a victorious army, taking with them what they could get, with some degree of fear of their superiors. But now the society knew no such restraint ; the governor and members of council were in power, kings and princes, and the agents they empowered to deliver out salt, beetle nut, and tobacco, to their subjects, were a regular body spread over the country, under no other restraint but that of not wronging their employers. Indeed they were forbid to act in a judicial capacity, or interfere in affairs of government : but they had no occasion to do this, for the sight of an Englishman carried
with

with it more terror and obedience in the natives than the authority of any civil magistrate, or even the nabob himself, who, it was known, only now held his high station under the favour of the English company. But it was thought more expedient to leave the collection of the company's revenue to the native officers, in the name of the nabob, than for the servants of the company to exact the public taxes themselves. The French, Dutch, and other Europeans settled in these provinces, might raise a clamour in Europe against paying tribute in India directly to the English; this was avoided by retaining the name of the nabob, and prevented the inconvenience which might sooner arise from openly oppressing the inhabitants in two ways at once. Therefore the
black

black revenue officers were let loose to collect the duties of the dewan, in name for the nabob—in fact for the company, the nabob being kept at a fixed allowance; and though something might be lost to the company or their servants by letting the revenue pass through the hands of the old officers of the government, yet they could be reckoned with at pleasure, and the English had the satisfaction in knowing, this part of the public oppressions, were not directly to be charged against them.

THIS being the mode of conducting the company's business, their servants were at greater liberty to attend to their own. — But not forgetting the interest of their employers, they issued an edict that the leases of lands, now held of the company, were to terminate,

nate, and the farms let over again at an improved rent. Some of the old tenants were accused of having obtained their leases by collusion—the remedy was easy—they had only to make them all void at once. And as to the distinctions between one man's case and another, it was held a right maxim in all states, that private convenience must yield to public expediency ; and there were weighty reasons why the general rule should not be varied in favour of the company's tenants in Bengal — Their lands would let for more now than the tenants paid by their leases. The reason of the case justified the determination, and they were let over again to the highest bidder. The motive assigned for this step to the court of directors by
their

their president and select committee was consistent—it would prevent any complaints against a monopoly of land.

CHAP.

INDIA AFFAIRS.

C H A P. XIV.

The sums received by the Company and their servants, from the princes and natives in India.

THE Company and their servants could now obtain the money of the inhabitants of India, by the various means of rents, revenues, and trade: And the use they made of these, and their talents as statesmen and soldiers, will best appear by the

*Account of sums proved and acknowledged to have been received,**

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For

* From the general state attested by the Auditor of Indian accounts, annexed to the further Report of the Committee of Secrecy appointed by the House of Commons, Appendix, No. 10.

*For the use of the Company from May
1761 to April 1771.*

From the net revenues	
arising from customs in	£.
Bengal — —	235,882
From the territorial re-	
venues, clear of all charges	15,763,828
Gained by Indian goods	451,651
Gained by European	
goods — —	299,062
	<hr/>
	£16,750,423
	<hr/>

Restitution, or money
paid the Company for
damages and expences
incurred in their wars.

By

By Meer Jaffier in 1757,	1,200,000
By Cossim in 1760,	62,500
By Meer Jaffier on re-	
storing him to the govern-	
ment in 1763, —	375,000
By Shujah Dowla on	
making peace with him	
in 1765, fifty lacks, or	583,333
	<hr/>
	£2,220,833
	<hr/>

To these sums received for the use of the Company, are to be added the sums distributed by the princes and other natives of Bengal to the Company's servants, from the year 1757 to the year 1766, both inclusive.*

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* See the account annexed to the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, vol. i. p. 22.

On deposing Sarajah Dowla, and advancing Meer Jaffier to the government in 1757,	1,238,575
On deposing Meer Jaffier in favour of Cossim in 1760, ———	200,269
On restoring Meer Jaffier in 1763, ———	437,499
Presents received by two commanders of the army,	62,666
On the accession of Najim ul Dowla, Meer Jaffier's son, in 1765,	139,357
Received of the king, queen mother, and one of the princes, in 1765 and 1766, ———	90,999
Received of Meer Jaffier in 1757, —	600,000
Carry over	2,769,365
Received	

[133]

Brought over	2,769,365
Received of Meer	
Jaffier again in 1763,	600,000
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	£3,369,365
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To these sums are to be added three hundred thousand pounds for Lord Clive's jagheer for ten years. And what was made by private trade does not come within the proofs or acknowledgments of the sums before stated. Lord Clive calculated the duty on salt, beetle nut, and tobacco, would yield an hundred thousand pounds a year to the Company; this he supposed equal to half the profits of the trade itself; and if Lord Clive was as near in this, as he was in his calculation of the dewannee, the sum then received from the inland trade in ten years,

years, would be two millions, which added to the sums proved or acknowledged to be received, makes the whole sum *Twenty-four millions six hundred and forty thousand six hundred and twenty one pounds sterling.*

CHAP.

INDIA AFFAIRS.

C H A P. XV.

1. *Effects of the English government in Bengal.*
2. *Consultation and letter from the Council at Calcutta on the famine.*
3. *The Directors letter after the famine.*

TO pursue the whole history of Bengal, from the time its government and revenues were obtained in 1766, would lead into all the contests which have arisen between the company and their servants on the division of the common spoil of the natives of the country, and this again would lead us back into the history of new wars,
and

and open to our view too wide a field; we must therefore content ourselves to pursue only a single line of enquiry—The effects produced by collecting from the country under the company's government, the sum of money we have seen divided between them and their servants.

EARLY in the year 1766, the agents and factors appointed by the company's servants for carrying on their inland trade, took their places at their different marts and stations; and being the deputies of merchants, who yesterday were soldiers and conquerors, they of course carried with them powers, which soon enabled them to get into their possession those necessities of life, which they had taken to themselves the right of supplying

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grew scarce, then the struggle lay between keeping what they had, and getting what they wanted.—Barter, under circumstances of such inequality in the dealers, produced, as it necessarily would produce, on one side extreme penury and want. Those who now made the things the English most wanted, were pressed on all sides—by their own necessities, their neighbours, and the agents employed to procure the company's investments, as the goods sent to Europe are called. These importunities were united, and urged so much, so often, and in such ways as to produce, among the people in the silk business, instances of their cutting off their thumbs, that the want of them might excuse them from following their trade, and the inconveniences to which they
were

were exposed beyond the common lot of their neighbours.

WHILE these demands for money and goods were spreading as universally as the use of salt, the officers of the government pressed for the taxes with more than usual eagerness — they had now to furnish a tribute to the King, an allowance to the nabob, and keep the revenue of the company at what it had been fixed, before the agents of inland trade began to collect the people's money by warrants of necessity. The tax-gatherers were let loose upon the subjects, with as little restraint as the collectors of taxes could be in any country. The nabob could not call them to account, had he been ever so wise and willing to relieve the people. Neither were oppressions re-

strained by the English, who alone had the power ; the projectors of the present mode of government, consoled themselves with seeing the corruption of the officers was not among themselves ; they waited to punish great offenders, by receiving back from them in fines what they had collected from the people more than their due. The company's principal servants had set out upon the plan of raising their fortunes from the people only by proxy ; but when oppression has nothing to fear from justice, it is no wonder that avarice should lay aside caution, and become principal in violence, and by this means undesignedly furnish, as it has done, evidence in the English courts of justice of the conduct of some of the company's servants in India.

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MANY of the natives had been influenced to make less opposition to the growing power of the subjects of England in their country, by what they were made to understand of the English laws—That they allowed every man to call his property his own; and if any thing was taken from him illegally, neither the prince or his nobles were superior to the law; and men in all cases were judged by their equals; and instead of the rank of the aggressor being allowed any exemption, it was often made the measure of the punishment. As many of the natives as understood thus much, and they were made to understand it, wished—and who could help wishing?—to change a government like theirs, where all they had was at the disposal of others, to whom they bore no other relation,

relation, than that virtual idea, handed down from those ancient times, when kings endeavoured to divide their benevolence equally among all their subjects, and considered themselves as their common fathers, in resemblance of the power by whom kings reign. With hopes of changing for the better, many persons in India rejoiced at the prosperity of the English, even when they saw them aiming at their government ; they thought the introduction of their laws and customs would follow their power, and the air of freedom and equality they saw amongst them confirmed their expectation.

BUT their hopes vanished on hearing, immediately after the English had got possession of the government, that they had issued orders—That leases and civil

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contracts were to be made void on a day—That a few persons only known to them as generals in the army, had laid duties on necessaries, of more than a third of their value, instead of the fortieth penny with which they used to be charged*—And that their new governors had taken things of daily use into their own hands to sell as they pleased. But the disappointment of the natives stood but a short time on the testimony of report—They saw the English agents and factors spreading themselves over all their country—they saw them endeavouring to get their money, their
jewels,

* The gentlemen whose names are signed to the resolution for granting these duties to the company, were five in number, and on their return from India, were all chosen by the people of England, to exercise the power of laying their taxes.

jewels; and the most valuable of their goods from them, by means they had never heard of before.

HAPPY would it have been for them had they seen no other effects of the English government than these!—But the desires of ambition are not less boundless for power, than those of avarice for riches—The natives were equally the subjects of both. And the property of the people not flowing into the hands of their masters so rapidly as some of them desired to complete their fortunes, and return to England—And seeing the monopoly of salt, beetle nut and tobacco, was disproportioned to their desires, for they could not be using the burjaut every day, and without it the contest was slow and tedious, the natives parting with their pence with the same sparing

ing hand as the agents parted with their salt. Money in this current came but by drops, it could not quench the thirst of those that waited in India to receive it.

AN expedient, such as it was, remained to quicken its pace—the natives could live with little salt, but not without food. Some of the agents saw themselves well situated for collecting the rice into stores,—they did so. They knew the Gentoos would rather die than violate the precepts of their religion by eating flesh. The alternative would therefore be between giving what they had and dying.—The inhabitants sunk—They that cultivated the land, and saw the harvest at the disposal of others, planted in doubt,—scarcity ensued,—then the monopoly was easier managed—the people

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took to roots and food they had been unaccustomed to eat. — Sicknefs ensued—the rice-holders overftood their market—many of the people died before they bought. — In fome diftricts the languid living left the bodies of their numerous dead unburied. At length an horrid peftilence and dreadful famine raged together. Thofe who fell not in defpair and death, were roused into furies, and fear at length opened the inhuman doors which the hand of power had kept clofed for the terms of avarice, whole insatiable appetites made fuch monfters of its flaves.

It is true, all were not fuch; there were a few who kept themfelves free from the general guilt and corruption. And in the diftrefs of the natives, thofe fervants of the Company who had governed

governed themselves by justice and moderation, now shewed the attendants on those virtues—humanity and generosity. And the same evidence of these transactions in India, which has taken away all boasting in the name of Englishman, has also told us, when the natives execrate the English, they except a few names, and amongst them that of Mr. Hastings. But it is the general conduct with which we have to do, and on this head I shall only trouble the reader with a passage from one of the Company's letters, another of the Committee's, and —

An extract from the Bengal Select Consultations, dated the 26th of May, 1770, containing orders for stoppages to be made out of stipends on account of the famine.

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“ It appearing to the Committee highly necessary and reasonable, that the tribute, stipends, and all extraordinary issues whatever, should give place to the more urgent calls of government.”

“ RESOLVED, That Mr. Becher, resident at the Durbar, be directed to withhold, at least, thirty lacks from the tribute, and other allowances, between this period and the 17th of October; so that the receipts and disbursements may have some proportion to each other; — that he be informed, with the assistance of this reserved sum, we expect he will continue to pay the troops, garrison, and all other charges of his department, the civil and military charges of the presidency being the

the utmost which can be defrayed from the treasury at Calcutta."

" IN consequence of these resolutions, agreed that the following letter be wrote."

*" To Richard Becher, Esq; resident at
the Durbar."*

" WITH concern we observe the great and alarming disproportion of your receipts to your disbursements, and at the same time we lament the calamities which have attended this country.—We have no consolation, or resource, but in the hopes of better and more favourable seasons.—In the mean while we must struggle with our necessities, and endeavour by all possible retrenchments and stoppages to reduce our disbursements within the narrowest]

narrowest limits.--In conjunctures like this, necessity compels us to make the conveniencies of dependants, and even the letter of engagements, subservient to the exigencies of the state. The minister who enjoys such great appointments, ought more particularly to give way to the times ; and it would be a ridiculous and unprecedented maxim to regard any tribute, or stipend, before the support of our own government. The exact sum which should be with-held from each article, we would not precisely determine, but we expect that you will, at least, keep back thirty lacks between this period and the 17th of October.”*

3. *Copy*

* No. 4. Appendix to Reports.

3. *Copy of the 39th and 40th paragraphs of the general letter from the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated the 10th of April, 1771."*

" At a time when every justifiable measure should be adopted, for availing the public, and the Company, of all the advantages we had in prospect from our possession of the dewannee, we cannot but reflect on the dissipation of a considerable part thereof, by the allowances to the nabob's ministers."

" As the business of the collections of our revenues, when they shall have been thoroughly investigated by the supervisors appointed for that purpose, will require little or no assistance from the nabob's minister, Mahomet Reza, Cawn,

Cawn, we must deem the continuance of his present salary as a waste of those resources which are become so essentially necessary, both for the security of our possessions, and the extention of your investments. It is therefore our pleasure, that the annual allowance of nine lacks, which he has hitherto enjoyed, be no longer continued to him; but as the minority of the nabob will make it requisite for you to appoint, as his guardian, a person of experience in the affairs of government, and of approved attachment to the Company's interests, your choice must rest on Mahomet Reza Cawn; and you are to allow him, whilst in that station, a salary of five lacks of rupees per annum, which we consider, not only as suitable to that station, but as a munificent reward for the services he may render

render the Company in the execution of his office.”*

AT the time the Court of Directors wrote this letter, they had received, for ten years together, more than a million five hundred thousand pounds a year, from the natives of Bengal, and that country had afforded besides this sum, upwards of nine millions of pounds sterling to the Company and their servants. And after the country in which this money was raised had been made the seat of war, revolutions, exactions, and oppression, for a long course of years, — after the inhabitants had seen no bounds to the demands made upon them, or any resist-

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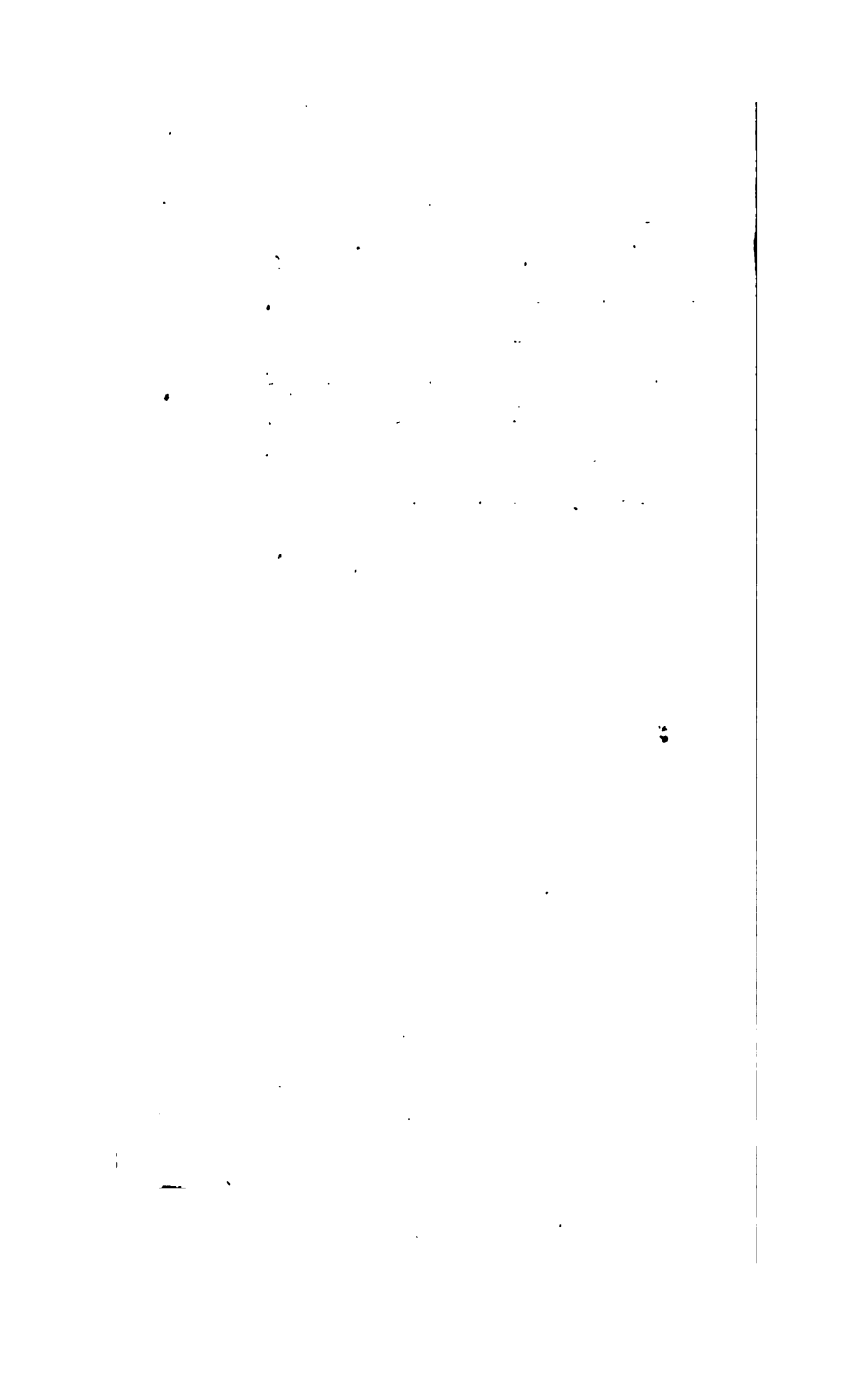
* No. 2. Appendix to the Report of the Committee of Secrecy appointed by the House of Commons to enquire into the state of the East India Company.

ing the art and force with which they were made,—after they had been driven to despair, and thousands and tens of thousands died for want of food,—after all this had happened, and with the knowledge of it before them, a company of English gentlemen in the city of London, sit down and write—

“ It is a time when every justifiable measure should be adopted for availing ourselves of all the advantages we had in prospect from our possession of the revenue.”

Notwithstanding all we have got for these ten years past,—Notwithstanding all the mischiefs we have brought upon this country,—Notwithstanding pestilence and famine have been completing what war and oppression had left half finished,—Notwithstanding the measure of this people’s miseries, and the death of so many thousands of them,

them,—it is still a time to continue exacting from the wretched survivors, all the advantages we had in prospect when they first were brought under our government, and before we began to reap the enormous sums we have brought away from their country.



INDIA AFFAIRS.

C H A P. XVI.

The Conclusion.

WERE the friends of humanity allowed to indulge the idea of some such proposition taking place, as that suggested by the Duke of Sully —of uniting the heads of civilized states together by a compact, for the purposes of preserving peace upon earth, promoting justice, and repressing the wrong done to one country by another, at the expence of the whole. And were we to suppose the deputies of these nations assembled at the place of their general appointment—Suppose the time
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arrived, and the place of assembly the city of Rome, and the deputies consisting of the most grave, wise, and best men each country could afford — Suppose we saw them assembled, acknowledging their infinite inferiority to the Author of all their intelligence, and in that comparison banish from the assembly all distinctions of rank amongst them, and as men with equal feelings for themselves and all mankind, proceed to dispense impartial justice to all the nations that claim it at their hands.

Who are these lighting from their camels?—They are the deputies from Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá.—Let us follow the dejected men into the senate—for public justice sits with open doors;—hear their names announced. Who is that whose pale but wise and manly face

face reddens with a blush? I think it is one of the deputies from England. Why should he change colour? What has he known of the people of the country these ambassadors are from? Silence—they begin to speak. —

“ WE are deputies of Indostan, and come to ask justice of this assembly against England, whose subjects have lately taken away from us more than twenty millions of money.”

Do you charge the wrong as by the the authority of their state, or occasioned by the improper desires of private persons?

“ THIS we know not, but here are the proofs and their acknowledgements of the sum they have taken from us, neither can they bar our claim by pretence of honest trade or service, for by force and guile they have done it.—

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We appeal to your justice, after hearing those we accuse."

LET the records of England be read, and no concurrence of the state appearing, the request of this assembly to the English state, will procure justice from their subjects.

PUBLIC register of the assembly.

" WHEREAS the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies have proposed, that a temporary agreement should be made in relation to the territorial acquisitions and revenues lately obtained there, and have thereupon offered to pay, for the benefit of the public, during the term of such agreement, the yearly sum of four hundred thousand pounds, by half yearly payments: And whereas it may be for the benefit of the public, and the said Company,
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that a temporary agreement, for the space of two years, should be made in regard of the said territorial acquisitions and revenues.—Now we, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, and their successors, shall advance and pay into the receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer, for his Majesty's use, the sum of four hundred thousand pounds per annum, for and during the

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term of two years, to be computed from the first day of February 1767." In the statute of the said kingdom, Anno septimo GEORGII III. CAP. 57. And it further appears by the English records, that in the ninth year of the reign of the present king another law was made, entitled, " An act for carrying into execution certain proposals made by the East India Company for the payment of the annual sum of four hundred thousand pounds, for a limited time, in respect of the territorial acquisitions and revenues lately obtained in the East Indies." And that this sum is to be paid into the receipt of the King's Exchequer for five years, from the first day of February 1769, by half yearly payments of two hundred thousand pounds each. The two acts making together the sum of

two millions eight hundred thousand pounds, which the government of England were to have from their subjects who have been in the East Indies. And in the second section of this last act it is said—" And it is hereby further enacted, and declared by the authority aforesaid, that all the territorial acquisitions lately obtained in the East Indies, shall remain in the possession of the said United Company, and their successors, during the term of five years."

LET the deputies of Bengal say, if they gave these territories and revenues to the English government, who make a law that their subjects shall keep them.

" No, the English who are here know we did not. And we pray them to bid us hold our peace if any

thing we advance be contrary to that which they believe.— We beseech you to hear us patiently and do us justice.— In the time of our fathers, the English came to our country bearing in their hands a message from their Queen, requesting our Sovereign to grant her subjects freedom in our country as men of honest dealing; our fathers entertained them with all hospitality, giving them the things they wanted, and taking in exchange those they brought; they rejoiced in their success, and desired to have habitations amongst us — Our princes gave them land and houses to dwell in ; and enquiring after their religion and their customs, the English answered, they were governed by most wise and just laws, and as to their religion, it taught them to believe that
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all men were required to do justice and love mercy, not only amongst their neighbours and countrymen, but to the people of every nation under heaven ; and this under the force of eternal obligations ; expecting in the life to come, that they who have done good in this, will enjoy endless bliss, and they who have done evil, suffer pain and remorse for ever.

“ From all this, our fathers verily believed, that if any men of this nation who came amongst us, should of their own improper desires do us mischief, and escape from punishment in our country, they would be punished in their own, who would make us reparation. And thus crediting their testimony, our fathers shewed them kindness, and at their desire gave them dwellings, where they fenced and
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made strong,—telling us, that though they had nothing to fear from us, yet they had from the other strangers we had allowed to come amongst us,—that their countries were near each other, and that they had wars together continually. But the English were never to blame : it was the character of their nation to be honest, generous, and sincere : but as to the people of the other nations, one was vain, the other proud, the third was cruel, and the fourth cruel and covetous. The French, Spaniards, Portugueze and Dutch, denied all this, and said they had as just laws as the English, for they were all taken at first from the same origin ; to prove which, they gave us the book into our hands, and our fathers found in it rules of most excellent wisdom, teaching men to live peaceable
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and quiet lives—to labour with their hands—to be content with their own—to desire no man's house, or land, or money, — but to shew kindness to all men, especially the afflicted, and to forgive their enemies—forbidding any man's taking a sword in his hand against his brother; and that all men were brethren, mingled of one blood by the Maker of them all, who our fathers believed to be the author of this book, as it made known to them things surpassing the wisdom of man—such maxims of piety, justice, virtue, and goodness, as rendered all the learning of the East but as a glimmering taper in the presence of the mid-day sun.

“ HERE our fathers saw the rules of right between nation and nation, man and man, laid down in words easy to be

be understood by common men, and these rules applied in so many actual cases in the distribution of justice in the ages that are past, that it plainly appeared all the kingdoms of the earth were under the government of an almighty Being, who had often taken the part of the weaker sons of men, when all their hope was gone, and had humbled the land of their oppressors, tho' the mightiest nations upon earth—for wars, pestilence, famine, were the ministers of his power, and when his mercy was withdrawn from the land of the wrong-doers and impenitent, the earth trembled for fear of his justice upon its inhabitants. And notwithstanding many of his chastisements, to nations, were mistaken for the works of men; yet, otherwise they were in truth; for though they appeared

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ed to grow as by natural consequence from their crimes, yet God being the author of all the good that was done upon earth, so neither was there any evil befel the sons of men but by his permission. His threatnings and his promises were conditional—on obedience hung blessings, on guilt and impenitence misery, and both on God; and thus the fate of all, rested alone upon the Maker of all.—That he had not placed men in the world, and then left them fatherless and forlorn—but the contrary — That he governs them by laws which make the happiness of every nation, and of every man, to depend on what they do and deserve; and according to these laws judging nations here—men hereafter.

“ WHEN our fathers understood that the strangers who had come amongst

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us, held themselves bound by obligations like these, they opened their ports, their cities, and their country, to them. But alas! we have been strangely requited for the kindness of our fathers—For, no sooner did the strangers see the riches they got amongst us, than they began to desire one another's things, and to fight who should have most, and hired the loose and wicked of our people to assist them in their wars; they stained our fields with blood, and put one another to death by torments, before we never heard of—And after many years, and many wars, the English people prevailed, and we trusted our country would have been at peace.

“ But when their wars were at an end, with wonder did we behold the English turn upon us with all their force.

—To

—To our old men it appears but yesterday since the English were permitted to dwell amongst us—to-day our princes are their slaves, and we in bondage to our fathers' guests.

“ THINK not, in our accusing the English, we mean to blame the dispensations of righteous providence, now see our land had its crimes to deserve this punishment —Even some of our land, for love of riches, had broken all the ties of friends and made war upon their country, and called down upon us all the chastisements due to the enemies of peace among the sons of men.—Neither do we accuse all the English, for we have seen amongst them some of the rich, but more of the poorer sort, who lived in all things as had been told us of christian men : they wept for our sor-

rows, protected our women, and gave their bread to the poor of our land, and after living blamelessly among us, some have even died in our presence, like the good men described in the book of the christians.—Far, far be from us to accuse such as these; it is the wicked we charge with our wrongs, and they are not less wicked because we deserved the chastising hand of providence: for to execute justice was not their aim, but to take away our riches, and to subdue our country for their profit; and to obtain these they have trodden under their feet the laws of hospitality, justice and humanity. They have hired our subjects to fight against their native governors, and have actually rewarded treachery with dominion, and princes with death—And when
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some would have escaped from their side back to their native masters, they were made examples of unheard-of punishments—Their bodies struggling quick with life, were twisted with force and bands about a cannon's mouth, and blasted through the air of heaven—Nay worse, some were called back from death, untied, beholding other victims thus suffer in their sight—then tied again themselves to suffer the horrid death they had seen.—Bear with our tale, ye judges of our cause!—we come for justice against the English, but not for vengeance—while we accuse the authors of the mischiefs we relate, our hearts cry mercy on their heads.—

“ BUT these sufferings of private men only demand the mourning of a few fathers, mothers, sisters, wives, and
sons;

sons ; for in every country nature will feel when her tender ties are rent asunder by deaths of smaller violence than the cannon's mouth—But such have been our sufferings, since the people of England began to fight against us, that we have been ready to conclude, our eastern sun has warmed our hearts into keener sensibility of grief and pain, than any other of the sons of men. And grief and pain have followed the footsteps of the English wherever they have come, and from the palace to the poor man's cottage they have made our country an house of woe.

“ SEVEN years now are past since the English became our masters, and all our sufferings by their wars, have been but the prelude to our miseries under their avarice—pursuing the end they had in view, they have torn away the
work

work half finished from the hands of honest industry; lest it should fall a prey to the second comer. Our lands, our labours, and our all, has been at their disposal, and behold the sum which by their own shameless confession they have taken away from us without pretence of trade or honest service, but in bribes forced from the hands of treachery or fear, and exacted by oppression and wrong! — Since we have been under the government of the English, executions have been common among us, without other grounds of just accusation, than that of with-holding from them what was not their due.—Not discovering what we possessed was a crime the English punished with stripes — not to yield what we had was often death—the cries of massacres and murders filled
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our dwellings with continual fear, and day and night our women, and our children, trembled in our defenceless habitations for fear of the English, as young hinds in hearing of the wolf.—The labours of the loom and of the field were equally seized as their prey, neither he that laboured or he that planted was sure to reap, black despair took place, a dreadful calm ensued, and famine, pestilence and the English have covered our land with horror and desolation.—The two least have abated, but the English still remain to exact the same tribute from the sad survivors of all this misery; and if this be the statute of the government of England which we have heard this day, it not only applies a part of what has been thus taken from us for the use of their nation, but the nobles

nobles and people of England desire their king to have it proclaimed as a law, that our country shall remain in the hands of his subjects our oppressors for years to come.

“BUT surely the days of our calamity will speedily have an end, if the scriptures of the christians be true, as true they must be or the world’s undone : for, laying aside our own, the crimes our land has seen committed by a small number of strangers, is beyond all price of human sacrifice to make atonement to offended justice—that justice, by which a just Being must judge mankind hereafter, and nations *here*, or justice be incomplete and undo all rules of right, reasonable and divine. Surely therefore our calamities shall not endure for ever, and the kingdom of our oppressors rule over us to the

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end of the world.—For, “ Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against thee, I will stretch out mine hand against thee, and I will make thee most desolate.—I will lay thy cities waste, and thou shalt be desolate, and thou shalt know that I am the Lord.—*Because* thou hast had a perpetual hatred and hast shed the blood of this people by the force of the sword, in the time of their calamity, in the time that their iniquity had an end.—Therefore as I live, saith the Lord God, I will prepare thee unto blood, and blood shall pursue thee : since thou hast not hated blood, even blood shall pursue thee.—Thus will I make thee most desolate.—And I will fill thy mountains with slain men :—in thy hills, and in thy vallies, and in all thy rivers shall they fall that are slain with the sword.—I
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will make thee perpetual desolations, and thy cities shall not return, and ye shall know that I am the Lord. Because thou hast said,—These nations and these countries shall be mine, and we will possess them though the Lord was there.—Therefore, as I live, saith the Lord God, I will even do according to thine anger, and according to thine envy which thou hast used out of thy hatred against them:—and I will make myself known amongst them when I have judged thee.—And thou shalt know that I am the Lord, and that I have heard all thy blasphemies which thou hast spoken, saying—They are laid desolate—they are given us to consume.—Thus with your mouth ye have boasted against me, and have multiplied your words against me:—I have heard them.—Therefore when.

the whole earth rejoiceth, I will make thee desolate.—As thou didst rejoice at their desolation, so will I do unto thee, and they shall know that I am the Lord.*

“ THUS were the dispensations of God directed in ages past. And is the Almighty subject to change? Shall He punish one nation of wrong-doers, and cruel men with war and desolation, and let another for ever pass unpunished, having before them for their guidance, the rules of His justice, and the examples of His judgments, and without signs of penitence, or token of reparation, despise His government? Infinite as he is in forbearance, with nations and with men, such partiality would unsettle all the examples His justice has made of the nations

* Ezekiel 35.

tions of the earth, who have sunk under the stroke of His judgments, and be directly contrary to His dealings with the nation most highly favoured by Him, and under the government of a king after His own heart, and yet punished with famine year after year, for oppressing a people who by voluntary contract were their slaves.* If it be true that those writings handed down to the christians are of God, then all that has happened to us in the East, agrees with that reason and justice, with which men may believe, the Almighty would govern the world He made. For what more reasonable, than that those blessings which in our abundance in India we despised, should be with-drawn from us? What more just, than that

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* 2 Samuel 21.

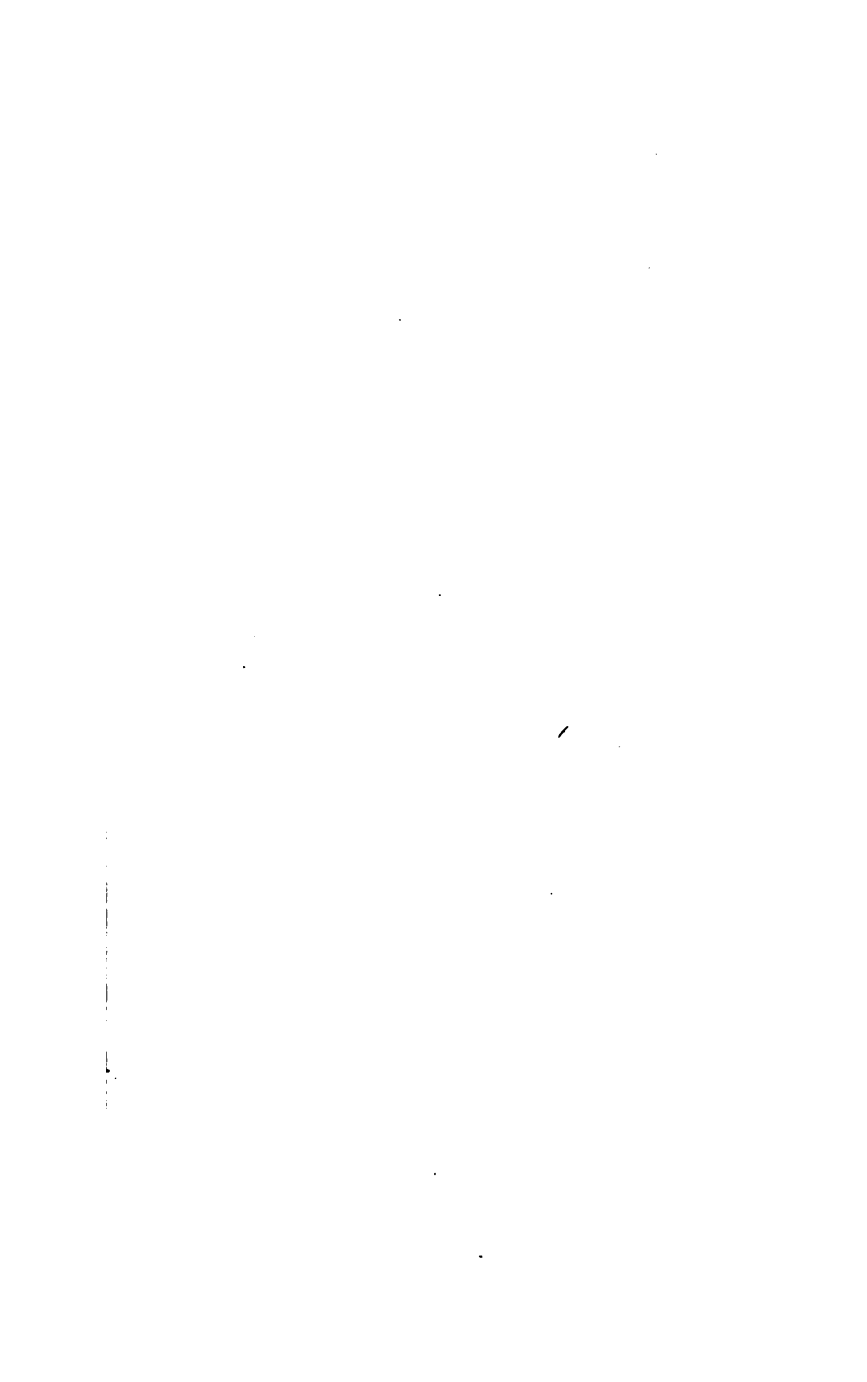
we should be given up to suffer what we inflicted with merciless hands even upon our brothers.

“ ON the belief, therefore, that the history of the christians is true, let others treat it as they may, we shall continue to hope that when our nation is humbled, and we return into the ways of justice, mercy and truth, that the Being whose attributes these are, will give us wisdom to unite and be at peace. For he can take away our oppressors with a word of his mouth, and can even make the casting of an Indian weed into the ocean, kindle the flames of war in the land of our destroyers; and if the nation of our enemies were as numerous, as rich, and as proud as we were, when we called ourselves invincible, still we must believe from our own experience, that the greatest nation

nation under heaven is only like a silly victim before almighty justice — For we who had millions of men, and our princes millions of money to reward them, have been robbed of those millions, and hundreds of thousands of our people killed, by a less number of men than one of our little villages contain, and yet Providence made these men, few as they were, so strong, and we so weak, by divisions, that they have enslaved us, taken our country for their own, and keep our princes captive to this day. But the time of our deliverance, we trust, draws nigh; for that deliverance we look to God alone, who can raise up help to us at his pleasure from among the nations of the earth, to whom we publish the wrongs that have been done us by the English.

THE END.

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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are given below each name. The list includes the names of the members of the committee, the names of the members of the sub-committee, and the names of the members of the advisory committee. The addresses are given in the following order: the address of the member of the committee, the address of the member of the sub-committee, and the address of the member of the advisory committee.



AUG 3 - 1931

